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Political Affairs

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CONTENTS

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PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

- Question of Whether To Appoint or Elect Ministry Officials Examined 1

MEDIA, PROPAGANDA

- Znaniye Society Accused of Commercialism, Dishonest Accounting /I. Gudimov; PRAVDA, 7 Mar 88/ 2
Journalist Blasts Ukrainian-American Emigre Leadership 3

HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

- Excerpts from 1941 Vernadskiy Diary Critical of Stalin, Yezhov
/V.I. Vernadskiy; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 11, 16 Mar 88/ 5

RELIGION

- Religious Beliefs of Young Soldiers Seen As Threat To Military Service
/V. Mukhin; KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, Jan 88/ 12
Reader Asks Whether Priests Can Be Party Members
/V. Desyatnykov; RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, 16 Mar 88/ 15
Journalist Calls for Greater Official Tolerance of Believers
/A. Ignatov; LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 22 Mar 88/ 15
GSSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Meets With Religious Officials 16
Official Quizzed on Georgian Church Restorations 16

SOCIAL ISSUES

- Armenian Daily Reports Statistics on Vagrancy /A. Lorentz; KOMMUNIST, 11 Feb 88/ 18
Procuracy Urges More Study, Publication of Crime Statistics
/S. Tyurin; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST; No 2, Feb 88/ 19
Journalist Urges More Humane Treatment For Drug Addicts /I. Vedeneyeva; OGONEK, 20-27 Feb 88/ .. 23
Leningrad Drug, Prostitution, Other Crime Data Discussed
/A. Kurkov; LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, 24 Feb 88/ 27
Estonian Blames Stalinist Heritage for Nationalities Problems
/M. Lauristin; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 13 Mar 88/ 29
Estonian Migration Patterns Effect Nationalities Relations
/A. Podvezko; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 18 Mar 88/ 31
TuSSR KGB Chief, Other Officials Rapped for Housing Improprieties
/V. Kuleshov; IZVESTIYA, 13 Mar 88/ 35
New TuSSR Fund to Tackle Juvenile Health, Labor, Social Problems
/Turkmeninform; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 2 Mar 88/ 37
USSR Academy of Sciences Member on Uzbek Family Planning, Employment Issues 38
Economic Conditions Demand Family Planning In Uzbekistan 39
General Disrespect For Kazakh Language In Mangyshlak Oblast 39
Unavailability Of Kazakh-Language Books Deplored 39
Specific Rules To Implement Kazakh Bilingualism Policy Lacking 40
KaSSR: Commentator Calls For Honesty, Openness In Problem Solving 40

REGIONAL ISSUES

- Stepanakert Strikes Blamed on Group Pressure, Past Attitudes
/L. Polonskiy; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 26 Mar 88/ 41
Official on Problems of Azerbaijani Schools in Armenia /I. Mamedov; KOMSOMOLETS, 10 Mar 88/ ... 44

| | |
|---|----|
| Central Asian Water Resource Management Measures Summarized <i>[P. Khabibullayev, V. Dukhovny; PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 3 Mar 88]</i> | 45 |
| Rumor of Malfunction at Lithuania's Ignalina Nuclear Plant Squelched <i>[G. Afanasyeva; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 5 Apr 88]</i> | 46 |
| Ukrainian Ecological Movement Sparks Growing Concerns | 47 |
| UkSSR Academician Views Policies <i>[K. Sytnyk; RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, 22 Jan 88]</i> | 47 |
| Public, Governmental Responsibilities Noted <i>[Anatoliy Kraslyansky; RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, 22 Jan 88]</i> | 48 |
| NKAO Raykom First Secretary Replaced <i>[Azerinform; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 1 Apr 88 p 2]</i> | 49 |
| Khachaturov Links Nagorno-Karabakh Issue With Arms Control Progress | 49 |
| NKAO Separatist Movement Denounced; Western Media Blamed | 50 |
| VOA, Radio Liberty Broadcasts on NKAO Criticized | 50 |
| Bourgeois Propagandists Blamed for NKAO Affair | 50 |
| Common Bonds Between Azeris, Armenians Stressed | 50 |
| Mardakert Raykom Accused of Stagnation | 50 |
| Tajik Landslide Warning; Geologist Says Reservoir Plans Unsafe | 50 |
| Problems of Bilingualism in Moldavia Addressed | 50 |
| Latvian Readers' Suggestions on Bilingualism Sought | 51 |

**Question of Whether To Appoint or Elect
Ministry Officials Examined**

18110057 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 15 March 1988 carries on page 1 a 300-word article concerning the issue of electing ministry officials as opposed to simply appointing them. The article cites a similar article published in RADYANSKA UKRAYINA on 15 January 1988 entitled "Who Will Decide, the Minister or the Collective" and dealing with the question of election versus the appointment of officials to new ministry sections, in light of the existing state of reduced staffs.

Subsequently, RADYANSKA UKRAYINA received letters from readers and officials alike. The 15 March article cites the letter of one reader, a comrade Pylypenko, who states that factory collectives are electing

their directors, shop chiefs, and master craftsmen by secret ballot and the ministries, which are undergoing administrative changes due to staff reductions, must also elect their officials by secret ballot and from a slate of not less than 2 candidates. "Only secret balloting can guarantee full democracy. Neither the minister nor his deputy or section chiefs can, must or have the right to dictate their will to the collective, as was the case during the time of stagnation."

The article also quotes Ye. Kuznetsov, deputy minister of the UkrSSR's Ministry for the Construction and Utilization of Highways, who asserts that the ministry never appoints officials without the consent of public organizations, including party members, trade union committees, the Komsomol committee and members of the ministries' collegium.

**Znaniye Society Accused of Commercialism,
Dishonest Accounting**
18000259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 88 p 3

[Letter from I. Gudimov, member of the CPSU since 1941, under the rubric "'n the Mail": "Tilt Towards Commercialism—Must Lecture Propaganda Be Organized Like This?"]

[Text] Sochi—For several years I have been keeping a copy-book in which I take notes after giving a lecture in one or another labor collective. Here, by way of illustration, are a few recent entries:

Store No. 29.

Lecture during lunch-break. Everyone in a hurry. Turmoil. Salespeople grumbling—no time to eat. Two vans pulled up with goods that had to be unloaded. Five attended. One warned that they would not be there after 20 minutes.

**Sochi Motor Vehicle Building and Repair
Administration.**

Arrived by car during working hours; people did not assemble. One of the managers, after apologizing, validated my pass and drove me back. As he said good-bye, he remarked: "At least you haven't lost anything."

Matsesta Sovkhoz.

Spent three hours getting there. Went directly out to the field with the party committee secretary. On the way met seven workers. The secretary suggested that they listen to the lecture. Indignantly the peasants sat down on the grass, saying, "All right, go ahead and lecture." No doubt it will be duly noted at the sovkhoz, as well as at the Znaniye Society, that "a lecture was conducted on behalf of the workers."

Such are my impressions...

I am a pensioner, and I have been a party member for almost half a century. I take part in ideological work as much as I can. For a long time I was a propagandist and lecturer, working for almost 30 years on behalf of the Znaniye Society. I have written quite a few letters to party organs and the editorial staffs of newspapers and journals regarding unresolved problems in the work of this organization, and I have received letters in reply, the gist of which is pretty much as follows: "Thank you for your letter, Ivan Ivanovich. The questions you have raised are deserving of attention and we shall take them under consideration."

Let me say that no one has done anything to contradict my conclusions. Twice I conversed with L. Dubova, who at that time was the manager of the CPSU kray committee lecture group. Incidentally, she tried to correct me in certain respects. But everything was as I said it was. Two of my letters were sent on to the kray society—but no

changes occurred. And now even the mention of my name here raises indignation. Why I do not know. No one has succeeded in convincing me that I am concerned with anything that is not necessary or that I am wrong in some respect. It seems to me that my letters have ended up in the hands of people who are cut off from actual experience.

Somewhere in the press the statement was made that there are about three million lecturers in our country, who give altogether almost a billion lectures. Let us leave this on the conscience of those who think up and believe in such astronomical figures. I am speaking of something else. Why is it that no one has given any thought to how much all this is costing? Let us make an estimate. In our kray alone [Krasnodar Kray] there are about 38,000 persons who are activists. Only the lecturers from primary organizations, however, speak without remuneration; the majority receive honorariums. For each speech the enterprise pays from 10 to 20 rubles. And this goes on throughout the entire country.

Let us bear in mind also that an excessively enlarged staff of workers, who give virtually no lectures, has been developed for the management of this army of three million lecturers. In Sochi we have 20 paid staff workers serving four rayons. Is this not unduly costly?

It may be said that the Znaniye Society is a self-supporting organization. That is correct. Today it resembles an immense commercial institution. But let us raise the question of who are its beneficiaries and who are not. Who derives a profit and how? To speak of the commercial aspect of ideological work might be rather embarrassing. But the problem does exist. The society, I know, devises big financial plans for the rayon organizations with result that the workers have to knock themselves out in an effort to fulfill the plan. The bonuses depend on it. The drive to collect revenue necessarily results in recruiting for responsible work poor and unqualified lecturers.

I have heard colleagues say more than once, "We work because it pays." Is it not strange that a vital ideological mission should become simply another way to earn extra income? Moreover, some comrades have for many years have been delivering from the rostrum the very same material.

At one time a program of lecture-hall certification was carried out in the kray. They counted up every location where a lecture was to be given once a month; this amounted to almost four hundred in each rayon. Maybe this is a necessary procedure. But in order for the "assembly-line" of lectures to work properly, as it turns out, it is necessary for all the enterprises and organizations to give the Znaniye Society a lecture schedule one year in advance. The planned lecture must be paid for on time. But we, the lecturers, must do our work on credit. It is this system of work that I was referring to at the beginning of these remarks.

The thought has come to me: Do we need so many lectures? By now the country has developed an elaborate system of party, Komsomol, and economics studies. Millions of people are engaged in studies at a variety of educational institutions. Everywhere there are special programs for studying party documents. In sum, a majority of people have at their disposal a comprehensive study program. Furthermore, a large army of political propagandists and agitators is at work in the labor collectives.

From the standpoint of the Znaniye Society and related institutions the matter is seen completely differently. Even oral presentations by writers to the collectives are currently paid for. Yet M. A. Sholokhov has stated indignantly that it is immoral for the writer who goes to meetings with workers to put his hand in the cash-box. Such a dialogue, of course, should be without selfish interest and founded upon trust by both sides. Yet it is mixed with an unconcealed mercenary interest.

Quite often in the field of "education" there are instances of falsifying figures. A visiting lecturer in outlying areas may be paid at the rate of no more than 600 rubles in honorariums over a 10-day period. I want to emphasize—no more than that. Yet if no tickets are sold, the enterprise nevertheless pays the Znaniye Society for an allegedly large attendance by the workers. At times five to ten persons may show up in the lecture hall, but 400-500 are indicated in the official accounts so that a "decent honorarium" may be paid. Such false reporting is referred to with embarrassment as "accounting error." Is this in the spirit of the change that is taking place today?

It has become accepted practice to impose so-called subscription tickets for lectures on enterprises and organizations. No one cares whether the people come or not. The main thing is to get the money in advance. Here is another option. It is well known that those who work in law enforcement, medicine, and cultural affairs are obligated to conduct educational work and contact the public out of a sense of duty; they do so, of course, free of charge. But the Znaniye Society in its drive for profits distributes passes to paid lectures. So once again a public service talk is turned into a paid performance.

All this in my opinion has led to a negative phenomenon, and more precisely has given rise to living off others in ideological and educational work. The number of selfless agitators and political propagandists, who are masters of vivid presentation, has perceptibly diminished. Why should they come forward if it is possible to order a paid lecturer and smugly check off a square in a report? Moreover, whoever serves as a public speaker is not much inclined to burden himself with unnecessary concerns.

Although it may be mistakenly supposed that I want to deny the usefulness and urgency of lecture propaganda, on the contrary, in my opinion it should be improved.

Moreover, a good deal that is needed is now being done. But it is impossible not to recognize negative tendencies as well, and to act as if they did not exist in our daily experience. Sochi has many sanatoriums, rest homes, and guest houses in which every day so-called paid public lectures are presented. I cannot understand, however, why it is that 40 percent of the money collected goes into the pockets of the lecturers. Certain enterprising individuals have turned their trips "to the people" into a regular feeding trough. For example, a certain "public relations" group has appeared whose activities are organized around a special device. By some means they have managed to obtain a full-length motion picture for their personal use, and they hold "film evenings" in the sanatoriums. The price of admission is 50 kopecks. And what is the point of it? Before the start of the show a "lecturer" discusses for a few minutes the content of the film and its director or the actor who plays the leading role. Then the show starts. And that is all. As a result the producers of the show receive up to 50 rubles an evening.

The people attend, of course, not for the "lecture" but to see the film. But the money, which amounts to quite a lot, goes to the producers. The Znaniye Society gets a part of it. Some public relations people take in 700 rubles a month.

I will end my remarks with an example from personal experience that may be extremely typical. Once I prepared what was in my judgment a substantial lecture, backed by interesting film materials. I obtained what I thought was excellent publicity and had a good billboard advertisement printed. But when I announced that I would appear free of charge, and that there was no point in selling tickets, things came to a standstill. No, they said—you, Ivan Ivanovich, are a source of income; it is better for you just to give your usual lecture, take your 10 rubles, and think no more about it. But personal experience forces us to think about it.

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Journalist Blasts Ukrainian-American Emigre Leadership

18000294 [Editorial Report] Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian on 8 March 1988 carries on page 3 a 1700-word article authored by A. Sidoruk, attacking the leadership of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. At issue is a handful of earth from the gravesite of poet laureate of Ukraine Taras Shevchenko, which was given to Ukrainian-American businessman Platon Stasyuk by the assistant director of the Shevchenko memorial museum, when he visited Kanev in 1961. Stasyuk's intention was to present this earth to the Committee to Erect the Taras Shevchenko Monument (K.S.P.Sh.) in Washington, D.C., which was acting under the auspices of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. The earth was then to be embedded at the base of the Shevchenko memorial, according to Stasyuk, as "a

symbol of the solidarity between Ukrainian emigres in America and our brothers and sisters in the Ukraine." But for all his trouble Stasyuk was labelled a "communophile" by K.S.P.Sh. and attacked in SVOBODA [a newspaper published by the Ukrainian National Association in the U.S.] for consorting with the Soviets who "have as their special goal the demoralization of the Ukrainian-American emigre community." A. Sidoruk attributes the attack on Stasyuk in SVOBODA to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, "which perfidiously furthered its own interests through the K.S.P.Sh."

Sidoruk further claims that according to Platon Stasyuk, "the Committee continued to collect funds for the erection of the Shevchenko memorial long after work on the

statue had been completed." He explains that "the financial affairs of the leadership of this nationalistic organization have always served to further its own political antics." He also asserts that Stasyuk exposed the "nationalistic campaign unfurled by the leaders of the post World War II Ukrainian emigration, whose aim is to turn their backs" on anything even remotely associated with Soviet Ukraine.

Ultimately, the "nationalistic bosses achieved their evil intent and refused the earth from the Shevchenko grave-site." In 1964, Platon Stasyuk returned the earth to the Shevchenko memorial site in Kanev, where it is now prominently displayed "as a shameful example to those who renounce their native land."

Excerpts from 1941 Vernadskiy Diary Critical of Stalin, Yezhov
18300184 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 16 Mar 88 p 13

Excerpts from V.I. Vernadskiy 1941 diary: "Radical Changes Are Inevitable..."; introductory paragraphs by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences I. Mochalov, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences commission to work on the scientific legacy of Academician V.I. Vernadskiy]

[Text] The date of 12 March marks the 125th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadskiy, the great naturalist and thinker who made a contribution of unsurpassed value to the development of our culture and world culture. Vernadskiy created new sciences and scientific directions: mineralogenetic studies, geochemistry, biogeochemistry, radiogeology, studies of the biosphere and its conversion into a new socionatural planetary envelope—the noosphere (the sphere of the intellect)—as transformed by Man's intellect and labor. Those researching the creativity of Vernadskiy compare his name to the names of Newton, Lomonosov, Mendeleev, Einstein...

Vladimir Ivanovich was great in everything to which he turned his thoughts. To us today, Vernadskiy is interesting in his totality and all his multifaceted aspects. We need to know everything about his life and very rich creative legacy (Vernadskiy's own personal records are the largest in the USSR Academy of Sciences Archives)—the whole truth, with nothing taken away, no matter how each of us may subjectively relate to that truth.

In the years when Vernadskiy's works were first being published, and also when many were being republished, there were more than enough censors (and, moreover, even for the people writing about him), both the "volunteers" and the official censors (and Vladimir Ivanovich had fights and enough with both the former and the latter during his life!). Alas! this by no means the best tradition turned out to be much more viable than might have been supposed, even in the our time of perestroika and glasnost. A fresh but not isolated example: Vernadskiy's book "Scientific Thought as a Planetary Phenomenon," published in 1977 with downright barbaric cuts, has again been published in "truncated" form. The book's final sections have been arbitrarily removed. Fortunately, it has now been published in full by the journal VOPROSY ISTORII YESTESTVOZNANIYA I TEKHNIKI (No 1, 1988). But the book has still not come out.

The excerpts from Vernadskiy's diary offered here for the attention of the reader cover the period from 27 May to 27 December 1941. They are being published for the first time.

The academy Uzkoye Holiday Home near Moscow, Moscow itself, and the Borovoye resort in Akmolinsky Oblast in the Kazakh SSR—these are the "spatial" coordinates of these writings. It remains to be added that when Vladimir Ivanovich was evacuated from Moscow he was accompanied by his wife N.Ye. Vernadskaya, a distant relative called Ye.V. Ilinskaya, his secretary A.D. Shakhovskaya, and a servant named P.K. Kazakova (who was actually a member of the family).

Uzkoye, 27 May 1941

In a note dated 17 February 1932 passed to V.M. Molotov I wrote the following: "More than a year ago I made application via the Academy of Sciences to the scientific committee of the Central Executive Committee to spend a year abroad. For reasons unknown to me my application was considered a special case."

On the advice of Lunacharskiy,¹ the second time I wrote to Stalin about my trip abroad. Lunacharskiy told me that he had been reprimanded by Stalin: that I, a nonparty person, could meddle in these matters.

It seems to me that since 1930 within the party milieu they have for the first time recognized Stalin's strength; he is becoming a dictator. That conversation with Stalin left a great impression on Lunacharskiy at that time, and he did not hide this.

Monday 16 June 1941, Uzkoye

My thoughts turn involuntarily to the need for freedom of thought as a basic component, just as in the basic structure of the social order, in which the individual should be the master of the means of production. Without this, equality for all is impossible. But this is impossible without freedom of thought.

Our system clearly shows this, when millions of people have been made—"for a time"—prisoners; a kind of slavery.

Ultimately, the great ideas that have grown up in science are being distorted.

It is essential to consider Marx from this viewpoint: he saw clearly that human thought creates a production force.

This is seen even more, and more deeply, in the noosphere. One condition is essential for this: freedom of thought.

Uzkoye, 18 June 1941

Gorkiy's Death on 18 June 1936. No one suspected murder at that time. This was "disclosed" later, and the victims were Levin and Pletnev²—who "confessed" during the trial.

Even during the trial I was suspicious of the role of Yezhov, Yagoda's aide, with the crude and stupid story about the wallpaper in his apartment. Levin, who was the Kremlin physician and a friend of Ya.V. Samoylov,³ and who in the late 19th century had treated our family, was a gentle and honest man; when they came to arrest him he telephoned Yezhov, who told him that he need not worry and so forth.

In 1941, on the fifth anniversary of Gorkiy's death, neither PRAVDA nor IZVESTIYA, nor LITERATURNAYA GAZETA said anything about this "murder." Only Ye.M. Yaroslavskiy mentioned it quite vaguely in his article.

Saturday, 21 June 1941

The consequences of extensive development—even without freedom of thought—are curious—a national spiritual creativity—the music, art and literature of all the peoples living in the [Soviet] Union.

Sunday, 22 June 1941, morning

This impression comes from reading the Soviet journals in Uzkoye (the sanatorium has a good library). A unique intellectual milieu is being created, national cultural centers are being formed... Eurasia is showing itself to be cultured, and mutual influence, respect and knowledge are being reinforced. I remember stories from before the revolution about the creative style and talent of the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

Uzkoye, 22 June 1941, evening

At four o'clock this morning, Sunday 22 June, without any warning or declaration of war German troops moved into our country, catching us completely unawares.

We learned about this in Uzkoye in the sanatorium over the radio from V.M. Molotov's speech.

He reported that at that time German airplanes were bombing Kiev, Zhitomir and Kaunas, and that an invasion had been launched from the Romanian border. More than 200 were dead or wounded. At the same time, our border troops had been attacked on the Western border—and in Finland.

It appears from the speech that although the Germans were beaten off they did not catch us unawares—but they are on our territory. At 0530 hours Graf Schulenburg reported that this had been provoked by the concentration of our troops on the German border.

Molotov's speech was not very successful. He announced that this was the second patriotic war and that Hitler would suffer the fate of Napoleon. He called for cohesion around the Bolshevik Party.

It is clear that we were caught unawares. They hid everything that many people have evidently found out from German and British radio.

They are saying that Germany offered to conclude a peace with England (Hess? I did not believe this). They said that Roosevelt rejected such a proposal. It seems to me unlikely that England would conclude a peace with Germany in these circumstances—at our expense.

The start of world revolution?

Monday, 23 June 1941

It is only now, on Monday, that the situation has become somewhat clearer. It is clear that once again, as in the war with Finland, the authorities were dozing. Very many people had thought that England would deal with Germany at our expense... I thought that this was impossible. Churchill's speech has become available.

Worthless TASS, with its own information, is reporting nonsense and is totally unsatisfactory. This has never been as clear as it is now.

Uzkoye, 3 July 1941

On 29 June 1941 an Academy of Sciences appeal entitled "To Scientists in All Countries" appeared in the newspapers; I had also signed it. It is the first appeal that does not contain the servile official laudation of "around its government and around V.I. Stalin"; it speaks of fascism as follows: "the boot of the fascist soldier threatens to stamp out the bright light of humankind—freedom of human thought, the right of peoples to develop their cultures independently—throughout the world." This tone is sustained right to the end. I think that this kind of appeal may now have some meaning. It emphasizes what distinguishes our dictatorship ideologically from the German and Italian dictatorship.

On 1 July 1941 the State Committee for Defense was formed, made up of Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Malenkov and Beriya. In general it is clear that this is Stalin's ideological dictatorship.

On 3 July 1941 Stalin made a speech over the radio. It was a fine and clever speech... In general the mobilization and so forth is going well.

Moscow, 13 July, 1941, Sunday

A tragicomic incident has occurred in the VASKhNIL. The academicians suddenly realized that the entire office staff of the president of the academy (Lysenko) has gone to Omsk and that President Lysenko is also preparing to go there. He did not deny this; he said that he was still quite unable to understand what the "academy" is. An appeal was made to the People's Commissariat. The decision was changed.

What is happening at the front? The start of the disintegration of Hitler's power? Or a pause before using the latest desperate means—gas or uranium energy?

Things at the front have been relatively quiet for 3 days. New troops are constantly arriving from our side. This seems to be true, and it is also true that there is neither panic nor confusion here.

My thoughts are all the time trying to grasp what is happening. Obviously a totally unexpected world phenomenon of enormous importance has occurred: victory for the red international—our communist party—as an historical manifestation of a Eurasian state.

It is now possible to halt the fascist movement in its attack on our country.

I think that the new world congress that will be convened somewhere in London or Geneva (perhaps in Moscow?) will be quite different from the Versailles Conference.

The new Red Army is a military force that has stopped the German army—if this has really happened...

Moscow, Monday 14 July 1941

Plans are being sharply altered. I came from Uzkoye thinking to travel to Tomsk in a day or two. I decided to take many books and work on "Problems of Biogeochemistry" and the chronology of my life—materials for an autobiography. And so I brought part of the archive—not sorted but, I now see, precious.

Now it must all again be removed from the boxes, and there are 22 of them! They had been placed beneath the stairs, but yesterday they were successfully transferred to the study because in line with the rules for protection against bombing the stairs must be kept free.

Now the position of the Germans is even more hopeless. Gas and uranium energy are all possibilities that we have in adequacy, and we probably do have gas. And this is a very double-edged agent.

Wednesday 16 July 1941, morning

Yesterday everything changed decisively and today we are traveling to Borovoye in Akmolinsk Oblast to a sanatorium. The thought suddenly came to me recently that this would be possible.

Yesterday morning my appeal at the radio center to the English scientists in connection with the conclusion of a military pact with England. A very proper, cultured audience and a sympathetic, older Irish announcer. They have very little transport, just two vehicles.

It became clear that on 16 July a train for children is going to Borovoye, a wonderful sanatorium, they say. And an upholstered car has been attached for the academicians, the aged and so forth. I decided to go since this is closer to Tomsk and perhaps—at least this is what I think—in the fall the situation will have somewhat clarified so that I can return to Moscow rather than Tomsk.

Very unsatisfactory news on the radio about the course of military actions. Evidently the army is now equal to the occasion: the Russian soldier now and previously was equal to the occasion, and the officers also.

18 July 1941, Friday, Svecha Station

We waited all night at the station after Sharya; a series of military trains were let through with people and military equipment. They were moving at high speed to the front; as a sign of the confusion, equipment and so forth has been withdrawn from the Urals.

Svecha is 817 kilometers from Moscow and 138 kilometers from Vyatka (Kirov). I have a horrible, unpleasant impression about the changing of historical names of cities—Gorkiy (Nizhniy Novgorod), Molotov (Perm), Kalinin (Tver). Is not Perm the most ancient of these? Associated with an ancient non-Russian culture?

I am astonished at the total lack of news from Moscow about the war; even in the cities they do not know. Our latest information is from newspapers dated 16 July.

Morning, 23 July 1941, Wednesday. The Borovoye-Kurort Station

We spent the night in the train. Morning. Rain.

Yesterday at the station I learned about the bombing of Moscow on the night of 21-22 July: the war has been going on for a month. They say that 200 German aircraft broke through, of which 20 got through to Moscow; bombs were dropped on the outskirts of Moscow and there were casualties. The impression here among the Muscovites is enormous. Now the question is: was this breakthrough by chance or is it the start of series of bombing, like the bombing of London?

29 July 1941, Tuesday

I have received a telegram informing me that academicians V.L. Komarov, A.N. Bakh, V.A. Obruchev and S.A. Chaplygin are to arrive here. I do not know where they will be billeted.

This is typical of the work of the academy apparatus, the result of the centralism that requires confirmation of each petty matter by a central authority. It gives rise to the actual power of the "secretaries" in the apparatus that is displayed so clearly in the academy.

On the third day I started to work with Anna (A.D. Shakhevskaya) on the fifth issue of "Problems of Biogeochemistry," entitled "The Chemical Composition of the Biosphere and Its Chemical Environment."

Borovoye, 30 July 1941, Wednesday

Yesterday the wife of Academician A.A. Rikhter gave a vivid impression of the first raid on Moscow on 21/22 July. The basic impression was essential, one that the information bureau had provided incorrect news. Radical corrections should be made to that information.

The information bureau's silence does not mean that there have been no raids on Moscow. Untalented, hide-bound people are in charge of the information bureau... This can be seen in their articles and statements.

We know about our surroundings only from these kinds of false figures. The correction must be made, from the very thick of life and my own life's experience: from the scope of what has happened and what has been consciously and deeply experienced since 1873 (if not earlier) to 1941—more than 60 years.

The noosphere in which we live is the main regulator of my understanding of the environment.

If the government does not commit gross errors, the demise of Hitlerism in the immediate future will be inevitable and rapid—it will take several months.

The basic line is correct. The creation of a conscious and powerful military strength, not dependent on its weapons from outside, is now primary in state life—the correct line taken by Stalin. This creates a healthy attitude about it. The principles of Bolshevism are healthy; the drones and the police are the sores that are causing the putrefaction, but it seems to me that the healthy bases will undoubtedly dominate.

5 August 1951, Tuesday

It is now clear historically that despite the many faults and unnecessary—and corrupting—cruelties, on average they (the Bolsheviks) have led Russia onto a new path. If this is so, and I am convinced of it, then there is every reason to think that the struggle against Hitler will end in victory; historically, Lenin and Stalin have stood on the correct path.

11 August 1941, Monday

Nevertheless the Germans are advancing. I am profoundly convinced of their early downfall. For this is a barbarous revival of the idea of Drang nach Osten—force, just like the hordes of the German tribes.

17 August 1941, Sunday

More academicians have arrived: P.P. Maslov and L.S. Shtern. I see little of anyone except for those living in our house.

The impression from Moscow is one of constant but slow advance by the Germans, particularly the abandonment of Smolensk... there is obviously greater alarm about the immediate future.

Meanwhile, I still think that the demise of Hitler's Germany is inevitable—I am probably the greatest of optimists—thanks to the creation of the noosphere.

26 August 1941, Tuesday

Today I clearly feel the "world" random process—rebirth in the storm and thunder of the noosphere.

The more I think about it the clearer my impression is that the Germans will collapse—and the great democratic ideas will be rid of the temporary growths like the GPU, which has actually corrupted the Bolshevik Party.

Democracy is freedom of thought and freedom of belief (to which I give no less importance but which may now be perhaps a temporary thing historically, it will lose its force in mankind's spiritual life).

1 September 1941, Monday

It is clear to me that theoretically if there is no treachery or no movement against the government within the country, it is possible to understand what is happening only as follows: the enemy is better armed (for example, Hitler's supertanks) and the weakness of our General Staff compared to the German. It seems to me that we have patriotism, courage and the air force on our side. Theoretically, Hitler's adventure must end for him in catastrophe.

Why have Yekaterinoslav and Odessa been abandoned? Why do the Germans always hold the initiative? What will be happening in a month?

I had thought that the war would end by winter. Now I have misgivings. It will end by winter in the sense that the German advance will be halted.

13 September 1941, Saturday

Chernigov has been abandoned. The reports are giving rise to increasing bewilderment. No news about battles ("There is fighting along the entire front")—and at the same time constant "withdrawals"... They say that there are masses of wounded in Siberia—in Tomsk and so forth.

20 September 1941, Saturday

Today there was news on the radio about a German breakthrough to Kiev. The mood here is somber. There has been more news about the defeats—the German breakthrough in the South at the start of the war the surrender of two generals with their troops. It is said that there are no troops in Kiev because the army was cut off in Bessarabia. They are talking about Budenny's lack of talent... Hitler has accomplished his plan to seize the Ukraine. But the population recognizes the existing situation—and this is having its effect.

I have no doubt (like many others) about the final outcome of the war, but things are going worse than I thought. Notwithstanding, I think the situation will clarify before winter.

6 October 1941, Monday

The mood has changed sharply since the abandonment of Kiev and the capture of Poltava. Many people do not believe the news: the radio is worthless and often stupid—it talks about trivia when we want accurate figures—people are beginning to listen to it less.

A sharp decline in confidence in a successful end to the war. I do not share this decline; I think that Germany's position is hopeless. But on the other hand, for me the noosphere is not some fiction or creation of belief but an empirical conclusion.

The occupation of all the Ukraine by the Germans and the disappearance of our Southern Army have disturbed everyone. One gets the impression that Odessa, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow are being defended by partisans and the population, and Odessa and Leningrad partly by sailors. But where is the army? What territory does it occupy?

Obviously the first impression of Germany had to be one that we did not understand—and which was hidden from us by the false and embellished notifications issued by the information bureau.

Nevertheless, the situation is unclear.

16 October 1941

A sharp change in attitudes about the war. The weakness of our army is clearly there for all to see, and we must realistically consider the possibility of the capture of Moscow and defeat. It is possible that all my archives and library will be destroyed. When I left Moscow in July the thought of the possibility of loss or destruction did occur to me briefly but it did not seem as realistic as it does now.

2 November 1941, Sunday

My thoughts turn involuntarily to the immediate future. The major failures of our authorities are the result of its weakened level of culture; the average level of the communists both morally and intellectually is lower than the average level of nonparty people. It has fallen sharply in recent years—the best people in the party, the ones who made the revolution, and the best people in the country are in the prisons, in exile or executed. This was very clear even during the first clashes—in the Finnish war—and now it is having a catastrophic effect.

I did not expect the symptoms that have now affected us. The future is unclear.

The flower of the nation has been overshadowed by smart dealers and lackey-careerists.

Now we do not know everything that is going on. Information is given out in such a way that the population cannot understand the situation.

Rumors reveal something different from the words in the government commentaries.

8 November 1941, Saturday, Borovoye

Yesterday was a holiday—Anna had the day off. I read and did not work on the book.

I finished Sholokhov's "Tikhii Don" ["Quiet Flows the Don"]. A great work; it stays with one like an historical monument. He has clearly depicted all the cruelty and fury of all the trends in the social and political struggle.

There is considerable calm in connection with Stalin's speech.

After the Germans—after the inevitable, it seems to me, winter fall of Nazism—there will be great changes in our life.

1 November 1941, Friday

It was only yesterday afternoon that we obtained the text of Stalin's speech, and it made an enormous impression. Earlier I had heard only snatches of it on the radio. It is undoubtedly the speech of a very clever man. It appeared only yesterday in the local newspapers. Nevertheless, much remains unclear.

No one here has any understanding of the state of affairs at the front.

They are saying that in the settlement at Borovoye the war is being increasingly felt. Many people have killed and wounded [relations].

15 November 1941, Saturday

One thinks involuntarily about the immediate future. Now an advance of enormous importance is being made, and apparently many others feel this. 1) The alliance with the Anglo-Saxon democratic states, in which the ideas of freedom of thought, freedom of belief and forms of great economic changes with the principles of freedom have entered deeply into life. 2) In the world conflict we are a totalitarian state, despite the principles that led our revolution and that are the reason for fascist Germany's attack on us.

16 November 1941, Sunday morning

Three (four) facts are obvious that are sharply at variance with the words and ideas of communism:

1) The duality of the government in words—the Bolshevik Party central Committee and the Sovnarkom—and the real power—the Central Committee and even the dictatorship of Stalin.

2) A state within a state; the real power is the GPU and its long-standing transmutations. This is the excessiveness and gangrene that are eating away the party—but in real life it cannot get by without it. As a result there are millions of prisoner-slaves, including, along with the criminal element—the flower of the nation and the flower of the party, which created its victory in the internecine war. There are two major phenomena: 1) the murder of Kirov, who stood out sharply among the ungifted and bureaucratic rulers; 2) the accidental failure of the GPU people—Yagoda—to seize power.

3) The activity of Yezhov, who has probably long ago gone mad or become a traitor who has destroyed the flower of the party and has been left to his corrosive work when he has already done more than enough destructive "work."

4) The destruction by the GPU and the party of their own intelligentsia—the people who made the revolution and transformed it into a unique restoration of the state power of the Russian people—with enormous positive results. The party has been "depopulated" and much in its makeup is a riddle for the future. Stalin, Molotov, those alone. The rest are the dull observers.

Simultaneously with this the following are being created: 1) the tradition of this kind of policy; 2) a lowering of the moral and intellectual level of the party compared with the average level—moral and intellectual—within the country. Under these conditions, Stalin's death could plunge the country into the unknown.

This is seen even more graphically in the fact that within the party, despite the efforts made through the police organization, which is riddled with criminal and bourgeois elements, there is a much increased element of thieves and other similar elements. The Sisyphean work to purge them cannot be really effective.

At the same time, the only solution, which the authorities are powerless to effect, is 1) to reorganize—radically—the GPU and its traditions: is this possible? And 2) there is the total failure to supply the population with essential consumer goods after 24 years of Soviet power, that is, the incorrect organization of trade, which is expensive and leading to hunger and poverty.

Essentially, both in Finland and in this war, this has had and is having its effect, and ahead lie ineluctable changes—especially against the backdrop of victory by us and the Anglo-Saxon democracies; it seems to me that these changes are not in question.

The immediate future will bring much that is unexpected, and a radical change in our life.

Will people be found for this?

25 November 1941, morning, Tuesday

The abominably worthless radio is obviously painting the isolation of the authorities from the population. It reports trifles and anecdotes. We have the Moscow newspapers only for 3 November. No matter how bad and worthless they are they nevertheless let the man in the street know something, even if it is much delayed.

28 November 1941, Friday, morning

I recalled something said by Ivan Petrovich Pavlov; I remember that he returned several times to this theme. He definitely thought that the most uncommon and most complex structures in the brain are, grace a Dieu, those that are innate, if I may so express it, in state people. This expression is probably not his own. And I think that it is right.

This becomes especially obvious to me when I hear his (Stalin's) speech on the radio: a stentorian Caucasian accent. And given these premises, this kind of power over people and this kind of impression on people.

He made one basic mistake: under the influence of revenge or fear, the destruction of the flower of the people in his own party is irreparable since the real conditions of life are causing a colossal inflow of all the thieves, who continue to get into the party, whose level in the milieu in which I have to move is manifestly lower than that of the nonparty people. Apparently, according to the stories he had been grooming a deputy for himself—Kirov, whose murder by party circles is perhaps a fatal blow for the party.

4 December 1941, Thursday, morning

The excerpts from the article by Davis (the former U.S. ambassador to Moscow) from the SUNDAY EXPRESS, republished in PRAVDA on 18 November 1941, about Bukharin from the time of the trials in 1935-1938, has made a great impression on me and others. Davis was asked about them after Germany's attack on the USSR.⁴

5 December 1941

The following paragraph made a very great impression on me: "...Kirov's murder, for which innocent people suffered... It seems to me that Kirov was the only person of state caliber, with the exception of Lenin and Stalin, and was the strength of the latter."

I remained on the sidelines away from all the ceremonies. But the murder of Kirov made a deep impression on me. I knew about him from conversations with Fersman; he (Kirov) had played a major role at Khibiny. I also knew about his other side—his combative character—from what Professor Uklonskiy had told me in Tashkent.

I attended his memorial ceremony in the academy club in Leningrad. I saw that an impression had been made, and I had to try to escape making a statement; I refused to speak but told the chairman of the meeting that although I had seen little of him (Kirov) I highly valued his activity.

I think that the murder of Kirov was done by party people who wished—and succeeded (Yagoda)—to divert the attention of the terrorists to other persons. This latter was an enormous error on Stalin's part.

7 December 1941

For the first time good news from two fronts—at Rostov-on-Don and Moscow.

Finally the turning point. The beginning of the end of Hitler.

The newspapers are coming in late, reaching us one-and-a-half to 2 weeks late; the radio is poorly organized; it tells us even less than our poor newspapers. General dissatisfaction.

Saturday 13 December 1941, evening

The turning point in military events; a great impression. This morning we listened to the radio, which indicated that the German advance that started on 1 December has been turned back from Moscow with huge German losses of personnel and weapons.

The barbarity of the Germans. I think that there will have to be some form of trial.

27 December 1941, Saturday

I have been working these days on my lecture "The Geological Shells of Earth as a Planet." I am most satisfied with this small article since when I had written it I realized that we can talk about planetary life as a scientific fact. Until I had made this summary I had not recognized this. This is to some degree a test of my creative strength; on 28 February 1942⁵ I shall be 79 years old.

* * * *

The final entry in the diary was made at the dictation of a dangerously enfeebled Vladimir Ivanovich by the hand of A.D. Shakhovskaya in Moscow on 24 December 1944...

Footnotes

1. In addition to A.V. Lunacharskiy, Vernadskiy knew many eminent party figures who had been the companions-in-arms of V.I. Lenin—A.S. Bubnov, N.I. Bukharin, N.P. Gurbunov, V.V. Kuybyshhev, M.N. Pokrovskiy, F.A. Rotsheyn, N.A. Semashko, N.M. Fedorovskiy and others—and he thought highly of their state and public activities. Semashko attended lectures given by Vernadskiy at the Moscow State University. Fedorovskiy (a mineralogist and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences) was his student; and in the latter years of his life, Bukharin headed the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the History of Science and Technology, which was set up at Vernadskiy's initiative.

2. Vernadskiy knew the physicians L.G. Levin (1870-1938) and D.D. Pletnev (1872-1944) well. Levin had at one time treated his children Nina and Georgiy. In March 1938 both were convicted in connection with the so-called "anti-Soviet right-Trotskiyist group" (Levin was shot and Pletnev sentenced to 25 years in prison). A recent decree by the USSR Supreme Court rescinded the sentence against these two, and others, in connection with this "affair" and both were fully rehabilitated.

3. Yakov Vladimirovich Samoylov (1870-1925); a mineralogist and geologist and student of Vernadskiy.

4. Davis justified the repressions of the Thirties, asserting that it was thanks to them that the "fifth column" was liquidated in the USSR.

5. Old style

Religious Beliefs of Young Soldiers Seen As Threat To Military Service
18000261 Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 2 Jan 88 pp 57-61

[Article by Maj. V. Mukhin: "The Art of Persuasion: Comments On Atheistic Education"]

[Text] After talking with a young soldier, Private A. Abdullayev, unit commanding officer S. Kobzarenko was pensive. And with good reason. His subordinate was knowledgeable about religion. And how! He could hardly say a word without quoting the Koran or Islamic dogma.

Kobzarenko had not expected that. Therefore at first he was even at a loss for what to do. But later, after he had collected his thoughts, he tried to explain to the soldier the erroneous nature of his views. He did a great deal of talking, but at the conclusion of the conversation he had the feeling that he had failed to persuade Abdullayev. And not just because it would be extremely difficult to do so so quickly. There was also another reason: the officer simply lacked the knowledge needed to address the subject with practical, well-reasoned arguments. Therefore he turned for assistance to Capt. A. Frolov, deputy battalion commander in the political section, and to Maj. Yu. Parinov, a member of the part-time lecture group at the garrison's House of Officers. These officers had had a considerable amount of experience with atheistic work. They gave Kobzarenko a number of useful tips, and joined him in talking with Abdullayev on several occasions. Little by little they began to see why he had become an adherent of Islam. One major contributing factor was his correspondence with his parents. Abdullayev's mother and father were atheists. He came from a large family, and for a long time had lived with his grandfather in a village near Tashkent. It was this grandfather who taught the boy to read the "holy books." Often they discussed articles from a religious magazine together and listened to foreign radio broadcasts featuring Islamic clergymen.

Then Kobzarenko began to make more frequent trips to the library. He carefully studied the books "Islam" by A. Masse, "Sotsialnaya doktrina islam" [The Social Doctrine of Islam] by A. Akhmedov and "Istoriya religii Vostoka" [The History of Eastern Religions] by A. Vasilyev, taking notes as he did so. After these preparations his talks with Abdullayev became much more effective. The officer could sense that the soldier had begun to listen more attentively to his reasoning.

At the same time Abdullayev was told about his responsibility for violation of military laws, and the requirements of his oath and of regulations were explained to him. While working to ensure that the soldier carried out orders unquestioningly, the commander and the political worker also demonstrated tact and did not infringe upon his dignity.

Capt. Frolov delivered a lecture on the social roots of Islam in Abdullayev's unit, and party activists organized talks on the harmful nature of religion.

His fellow soldiers had a great influence on Abdullayev. Privates S. Kokuyev and M. Albakov, Komsomol members, helped him study for his political lessons. They read atheistic literature together.

Noticing how the soldier's views were gradually changing, Kobzarenko decided to have him help with preparations for the morning indoctrination class in atheism.

After the completion of his service Private Abdullayev joined the reserve. Currently he is studying at an institute in Tashkent.

A large-circulation soldiers' newspaper related how officer Kobzarenko (who has now been promoted and transferred to a different post) worked with Abdullayev. The Political Department drew up special methodological recommendations with regard to the organizing and conducting of atheistic work with the troops. Matters pertaining to anti-religious propaganda were often discussed with part-time propagandists at seminars and assemblies.

This is a unit which approaches atheistic propaganda in a skillful and creative manner. A special group of part-time propagandists has been established as part of the collective for agitation and propaganda; in its work this group specializes in anti-religious topics. Its activists present lectures and reports, set up conversation groups, share their experiences, and take part in methodological seminars on current issues in the ideological struggle.

For example, at meetings of the heads of political information groups the lecture "Religion In the Service of Militarism and Reaction" was read by Lt. Col. V. Melnik, a member of the collective for agitation and propaganda. He did not choose this topic at random. Previously when speaking before similar audiences this activist devoted all his attention to theoretical questions. But then he conducted a survey of his listeners and came to the conclusion that part-time propagandists are most interested in practically-oriented atheist propaganda.

Officer Melnik began to prepare for his next lecture with this in mind. He had to do a great deal of work with the literature in preparation for his speech. He carefully studied articles in the weeklies ARGUMENTY I FAKTY and ZA RUBEZHOM, many issues of the magazine NAUKA I RELIGIYA, and monographs on atheism; he also analyzed the experience with atheistic work accumulated in his unit. The lecture he presented was an informative one.

Exposing the unseemly role of the Pentagon and the CIA in ideological diversions and in war propaganda, Col. Melnik told how there are more than 20 special centers for these purposes in the West. In the languages of the

USSR alone they broadcast 15-18 hours each day. In addition to those broadcasts systematic religious propaganda is broadcast by such major radio stations as Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle and others.

These "keepers of the faith" in the West often attempt to justify aggression, the arms race and preparations for nuclear war. Thus, Ya. Kurdydyk, a member of the nationalistic Uniate Church and a former officer of the "Galichina" SS Division, delightedly approved of the growth in U.S. military spending. Active preparations have been made for the 1,000th anniversary of the Christianization of Russia. Members of the "League of Avengers of the Memory of Nicholas II," "League of Officers of the Russian Expeditionary Corps" and other anti-Soviet organizations are hatching plans for a "religious renaissance of faith" in the USSR, pinning their hopes on religious extremists. Citing these and other facts, Lt. Col. Melnik also recommended that political information group leaders be equally convincing and aggressive in their exposure of the false and deceptive concoctions of those who are attempting to spread the drug of religion around the world and poison people's minds.

The unit's commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol activists are conducting anti-religious propaganda not only among their own personnel, but also among the local populace and in labor collectives whose members, by nature of their jobs, often come in personal contact with the troops. There was a time when the ideological aktiv ignored ideological educational work with civilians employed at the billeting operation unit and in military stores. But it has become clear that there are believers among them. And they have regular contact with soldiers. The "keepers of the faith" can thus attempt to insinuate their views among the troops. This must be taken into account. So members of the collective for agitation and propaganda Lt. Col. Melnik and Majors V. Treshchenko and A. Timonin have begun giving atheistic lectures and having talks with blue-collar and office workers employed by the Soviet Army and with those civilians who by virtue of their jobs often visit military units.

The unit's political department has, working in conjunction with the party raykom, compiled a plan for joint ideological educational work; this plan includes the holding of joint atheistic events. The council of the garrison's House of Officers, the library staff, the part-time lecture group and the local branch of the Znaniye Society are active participants in its realization.

The House of Officers has all the necessary conditions for visitors to relax and expand their horizons. Visitors will find a library and an information center in which there is a wealth of book and photo displays and a catalogue of anti-religious and other literature. The

House of Officers has a continuously operating auditorium for lectures on atheism and a political theater, whose repertoire also includes anti-religious subjects.

Servicemen and their families well remember the film lecture "Svet i teni" [Light and Shadows], which was put together by members of the House of Officers council Majors G. Roenanov and A. Timonin, Captains A. Bakayev and M. Solovyev, and members of the party raykom staff. After the showing of the film "Znakhar i znakharstvo" [Sorcerers and the Art of Sorcery] the audience was addressed by political worker Maj. A. Timonin, who told of the distortions and deceptions to which religious figures resort in their prayers and rituals. Then he was followed by Capt. A. Bakayev, who demonstrated what the viewers called "tricks." The officer guessed and fulfilled the wishes of anyone in the audience: he found a hidden ring and followed various "mute" commands. In short, he "read" their thoughts.

Then Bakayev told them how this was all possible with the right training, and where they could read about it. In his speech he focused on the most important point: how such "miracles" as these are used by the church in order to glorify religion and make people believe in an omnipotent god.

This example of work by the ideological aktiv attests to the fact that through skillful organization a high degree of effectiveness can be achieved in atheistic propaganda. This aktiv works aggressively to refute Biblical precepts and struggles resolutely against the infiltration of alien views and religious prejudices into people's minds.

Once officer A. Bakayev, a member of the collective for agitation and propaganda, witnessed a conversation in which Sgt. T. Taygiyev participated. He is an energetic person and one active in social affairs, yet he was talking, of all things, about the great "prophetic" role played in his life by... dreams! In doing so he mentioned Muslim holy places and the prophets. Bakayev was sure that Komsomol member Taygiyev, an educated man, did not still hold religious convictions. These "magic dreams" were the result of insufficient specialized knowledge. The officer began to talk with Taygiyev more often, bringing in Komsomol activists as well. The officer and Taygiyev's fellow soldiers had to discuss certain matters of physiology and psychology several times before he realized that he had been mistaken.

Bakayev also had to do a great deal of work with Pvt. V. Kolos. The soldier did not consider himself a believer, but he refused to join the Komsomol because his Baptist mother would not permit it.

"I cannot disobey her," said the soldier with downcast head.

Once again Bakayev tackled the case with his typical persistence. It was easier to work with an individual who considered himself an unbeliever. But in a sense this was more difficult: it was necessary to infringe on a mother's authority...

There were many talks, arguments and heated disputes. Little by little the soldier's views changed. He began to look at the world in a different way and examine his own views. He became an active participant in social work and got good marks in his military studies. Then he requested a recommendation for membership in the Komsomol. That was a joyous event for Capt. Bakayev.

Unfortunately, consistency, persistence and patience are not typical of the reeducation of believers at all times. In some collectives administrative measures, if not outright demagoguery and inaction, are substituted for well-planned individual and mass work. Such attitudes toward this task are found in the unit commanded by Maj. V. Tyurkov. In one section I. Ostapyuk, a Baptist, stated that he could not take the military oath on account of his religious convictions. Yet instead of working with him carefully and tactfully, part-time propagandist Maj. Yu. Rutskiy and Captains P. Danilishin and V. Germanchuk quite simply did nothing. They waited until the end of the training period and then requested that Ostapyuk be transferred to another unit. Which request was finally granted...

Unfortunately, such cases are not isolated ones. Sometimes ideological activists' resounding slogans and voluminous plans ignore elementary forms and methods of atheistic work. At times this is carried to the point of absurdity. Once, for instance, Sgt. A. Shpens, a believer, was assigned to be an agitator in the unit in which officer O. Ozerov served.

The inability to work with religiously inclined soldiers and ignorance of the basics of their faith frighten some activists away from believers.

For example, there was a time when the political workers of the unit in which Lt. Col. P. Olinchuk served closed their eyes to the fact that Pvt. I. Lukyanchuk, a Seventh-Day Adventist, attempted to avoid working on Saturday on religious grounds, and also had contacts with "brothers" from his sect who came to visit him. Things went so far that this soldier was given leave at the request of "fellow believers." What were the grounds for their request? That their sect was going to hold a meeting.

In this situation, on the one hand, we find total loyalty toward a believer, and on the other hand rudeness and a lack of tact. The author has himself seen how Lukyanchuk was, to put it mildly, reprimanded by the unit commander. The commander even threatened to put him in the stockade for attending a meeting of his sect without his knowledge while on leave.

On numerous occasions when talking with experienced ideological workers I have heard this thought: some commanders, political workers and propagandists in their atheistic work neglect the laws of psychology and the motivational aspect of the believer's relationship to a given religious teaching. Many officers simply are not sufficiently familiar with those laws and do not find them in atheistic literature, which at first glance appears quite voluminous. Take a look at many handbooks, monographs and textbooks on atheism. They contain a great number of descriptions of various religions and their history, a large body of reference material (where, what and how much), but very few facts about how atheists can, using their knowledge of a faith, persuade an individual who has been deceived by an alien world view. Yet that is the very thing that is of interest. That is what would make officers' atheistic education easier. In our opinion, it would be expedient to publish special handbooks dealing in a practical and versatile manner with experience accumulated in the course of atheistic work.

Despite all these problems, in a majority of military collectives part-time propagandists are approaching problems of atheistic propaganda in a creative manner and are doing a great deal of fruitful anti-religious work. Consider, for example, Capt. A. Artemchik, a part-time propagandist. He has often found himself in difficult situations. The following is one of them. Pvt. Ye. Latyshov, a Baptist, said upon arrival in the unit that he could not take the oath. But Capt. A. Artemchik managed to convince the soldier of the erroneous nature of his views. And he did so by using his knowledge of psychology and his profound understanding of the sources of the believing soldier's religion.

He began by analyzing his talks with Latyshov and came to the following conclusion: the soldier was of the opinion that religion is the source of morality, and was convinced that the moral foundations of any society owe their origin and continued existence solely to faith. That was why Latyshov did not want to study the military art conscientiously. "According to the laws of God," he said, "all people should be reconciled with evil, and then it will disappear."

The officer's conversations with Latyshov went on for a long time. In order to prove the contradictory and false nature of the Biblical commandment "thou shalt not kill," Artemchik showed the soldier the memoirs of former Baptist P. G. Kopenkova, published in the book "Pochemu my porvali s religiyey" [Why We Broke With Religion]. Specifically, he pointed out these lines: "1941 had arrived, and with it a world of trouble. There is no sea without water, and there is no war without blood. And blood was flowing like a river through our land. Then one time we gathered in our house of prayer, and Germans came to us, Baptists themselves. This tore at my heart. The fascists were defiling our land, yet now they were going to pray with us. To whom, to which god? To our own Baptist god, it seemed. It was then that I

realized that not all was well in my religion, that it involved deception. I went home, thinking about Christ's words: 'pray for your enemies.' 'What?' I thought. 'The fascists are killing people, hanging them, and we are supposed to pray for them?' That was the moment when a large crack appeared in my faith in a 'supreme and omnipotent being'..." The officer also told Latyshov about the Archbishop Filofey and the bishops Afanasiy, Stefan and Polikarp Sikorskiy, who aided the fascists during the war, trading their cassocks for the uniforms of the German police.

The soldier began to change after those conversations but, of course, not immediately. However, the part-time propagandist was not content with this. He turned repeatedly for help to experienced political workers. They supplied him with literature on atheism and shared their own experiences working with believers. On their advice Capt. Artemchik got Latyshov involved in social work. The officer found out that the soldier was trying his hand at poetry. His latest verses were written under the impression of his conversations with the part-time propagandist. They spoke of war, of the bold and brave people who had come to the defense of their Motherland. Artemchik suggested that the soldier publish his poetry in the wall newspaper. He agreed. Later he participated in the organization of a thematic evening on the subject "Excellent Service Means Reliable Defense of the Fatherland." With great feeling he read his new poems about the Motherland, about the need to defend it, weapon in hand.

Capt. Artemchik managed to convince Latyshov of the need to take the military oath. But after that a great deal of work was still necessary before the officer could get the soldier to rid himself completely of his prejudices.

We feel that it is our party duty to help those who are in error to free themselves from the snares of religion and educate them in the spirit of communist ideology, morality and devotion to their military duty.

12825

Reader Asks Whether Priests Can Be Party Members

18110058 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
16 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by V. Desyatnykov, chief of RADYANSKA UKRAYINA's propaganda section: "Priest With a Party Card?"]

[Text] To the Editor: Please answer a question that is in dispute. Can a priest who conducts services in a church be a member of the Communist Party? Where does he register? Where does he go to party meetings and where does he pay his membership dues?

M. Boroday
Opishnya, Poltava Oblast

We are witnesses to the fact that many religious organizations operating in the USSR have patriotic and peace-maker platforms. Lately it is no surprise that church officials are even participating in television forums, especially in the so-called telebridges. Their constructive and progressive outlook is pleasing to us especially where it concerns international questions. Apparently this is the reason that M. Boroday turned to the editor with the type of question he asked.

But, the answer is unequivocal. No, priests here cannot be members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There is a Party statute that states it is the party member's obligation to fight against religious prejudices and to possess atheistic conviction. And, of course, it's obvious that a priest cannot be anything but an active preacher and a proponent of the anti-scientific religious worldview. So the one contradicts the other.

Journalist Calls for Greater Official Tolerance of Believers

18000299 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 22 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by A. Ignatov, APN political correspondent: "Can We Allow Churchgoing to be Prohibited?"]

[Text] Until very recently I was convinced that there was only one answer to this question. No! Indeed, the law is quite clear: Soviet people have the right to profess any religion and to celebrate religious rites.

But unfortunately, reality differs quite a bit from theory. Of course no one is dispatching the militia to churches to bar believers from entering. There is no one forcibly preventing those who want to pray a bit, have a burial service conducted, be married or baptize an infant from doing so.

The practice of having parents present documents for the baptism of an infant has been officially declared illegal. This is because the practice allowed local officials to keep track of and then consequently put pressure on persons who went to priests.

But a closer look at the problems of the relations between the church and the state and between believers and local authorities compels me to restrain my optimism. For example, there is the letter our agency received from the Carpathian village of Illemya in the Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast. A group of Orthodox believers informs us that for almost 3 years now they have been forced to protect the church in their village from destruction. The church has been closed "temporarily" from 1961 to this day.

The authors of this letter of complaint also assert that in July 1985 the authorities tore down a nearby church in the village of Luga and were intending to tear down the church in Illemya. However, believers set up a watch at the closed church and were able to safeguard it despite fines levied on them, the summonses of local authorities

and other attempts to exert influence on them. Local authorities are proposing that the believers use churches in other villages. But, strictly speaking, how is it that rayispolkom workers are taking upon themselves the right to decide where their citizens can and cannot go to pray?

The relations between believers and the administrative organs in the Ukraine, which includes Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, do not just coincidentally elicit concern. In the quarter century preceding 1987, practically not a single church was opened here; on the contrary, many churches were closed. Some churches were lost due to age and disrepair, others were flooded by new reservoirs or were destroyed because they were in the way of new roads being constructed, and others... It is no secret that in official circles it was assumed that "religious prejudices should quickly die out" and that is why churches were not necessary.

Today, fortunately, the situation is changing. Since the end of last year, 3 new Orthodox churches have opened in the Ukraine. I spoke with Miron Derevyanko, representative of the Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast Council for Religious Affairs, who assured me that "Ilemnya's problem is being studied." However, for some reason it has been in the process of being studied for quite a long time. According to Derevyanko, there are 330 religious communities operating in the oblast; yet dozens of requests to register new communities have not been answered. What is the problem here?

In my view the problem is that workers in the administrative apparatus do not know the existing laws very well and treat believers with suspicion and in general as if they were ideological enemies. But here is the paradox. We learn to converse civilly with the true ideological enemy from the West, but we do not always employ our own fully civilized laws towards our own citizens, those born and bred under socialism.

I have just returned from Rostov Oblast, where I listened to the two sides of a recurrent conflict in the settlement of Kamenolomni in the cossack region. Tatyana Ivanovna Duryagina complained to the editor of the APN bulletin RELIGION IN THE USSR about the rayispolkom summons and threat of public reprimand she had received because, contrary to the accepted custom, her children go to church with their grandmother or by themselves, and not with her. Teachers in the local school have begun to press the children with questions on why they believe in God, does God exist and who has seen Him.

In a word, it is my opinion that rayispolkom workers do not totally pay attention to the life of religious communities nor the churches operating in their settlement; nor do teachers exhibit the sensitivity, care and sense of balance which is absolutely necessary for maintaining relations between the administration and believers.

There are quite a few of these conflicts in Rostov-na-Donu, as well as around the country in general. It is not for nothing that our agency gets letters of complaint against bureaucratism, formalism and insensitivity, as well as on the illegal measures taken by all sorts of officials.

Thanks to perestroyka, a change in the way of thinking with regard to these matters has begun. But it is progressing slowly. Organized measures, such as an increase in the publication of religious literature or the transfer of a number of former monasteries and churches back to the Orthodox church, are facilitating this change. Among these properties are the newly restored and opened Danilov Monastery in Moscow, the Tolgskiy Monastery in Yaroslavl Oblast and the Optina Hermitage near Kaluga (Lev Tolstoy frequently visited the Optina Hermitage, and it was on the way to the Hermitage that he died.)

And the concern here is not only with the imminent Millennium of the Christening of Kievan Rus, which will be widely observed in June. The attitude toward other religions is also changing. Klaipedskiy church, which was illegally appropriated in 1962, has been returned to Catholic believers and will be restored at state expense. Baptist meeting-houses as well as mosques are going built, repaired and opened. In this manner, perestroyka is also affecting that sphere of life for Soviet society.

GSSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Meets With Religious Officials

18000300P [Editorial Report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 12 March 1988 carries on page 3 an 80-word report on an 11 March 1988 meeting of P.G. Gilashvili, chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with Parfeniy III, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and Africa and the Georgian Church Catholicus-Patriarch Ilia II. A.N. Tsiklauri, representative of the Georgian SSR Council for Religious Affairs also participated. Issues dealing with world peace were discussed.

Official Quizzed on Georgian Church Restorations

18130418 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 30 January 1988 carries on page 3 under the title "Let's Act Together for the National Cause!" Mamuka Pachuashvili's 2,200-word interview with Irakli Tsitsishvili, chief of the Main Administration for the Protection and Restoration of Monuments. The interview's main focus is problems with and prospects for the restoration and protection of Georgian churches.

Pachuashvili asks Tsitsishvili a number of probing questions relating to rumors that not all young people who want to participate in religious services are accommodated and that the Administration has been lackadaisical in its work. Tsitsishvili refutes these criticisms. He states

that the Administration's staff of 300 full-time and part-time guards cannot handle certain problems, particularly incidents of hooliganism and wild partying at church sites, by themselves. Local authorities, some of whom are less than vigorous in their efforts, must get more actively involved. Additionally, some monuments need emergency work to arrest destruction by the elements, while other monuments, which have already undergone restoration work, have experienced further damage, such as leaking roofs. He goes on to state that although the Administration does have a bank account for the deposit of contributions, funding is always a problem. Officials are considering whether to install contribution boxes in appropriate public places in order to collect donations earmarked for specific monuments. Tsitsishvili also notes that in all of Georgia there are only about seven stonecutters who work under difficult conditions and receive very little monetary reward for their efforts. This is expected to change with the adoption of the brigade contract.

The interviewer points out that a Georgian church was recently opened in the town of Bolnisi and asks Tsitsishvili why the beautiful 5th century Bolnisi Cathedral could not have been restored instead. Tsitsishvili states that the Administration is opposed to the reopening of 20 specific monuments for use as churches, including the Bolnisi Cathedral, the Dzhvari Cathedral at Mtskheta

and the Nikortsminda Cathedral. The reason for this is that "worshippers would place candles on the walls and damage them." He adds that people would also require heat, which would damage priceless frescoes. Pachuaushvili responds that in the past, priests and their congregations lovingly cared for their churches. To this Tsitsishvili counters that "today's priests and worshippers are not the same; most people today go to church just for show." There have also been written complaints to the Administration from some people opposing the opening of one or another church.

The interviewer reminds Tsitsishvili that last year he announced in an article that the Davit Garedzha monastery complex located southeast of Tbilisi, by virtue of Politburo member Ligachev's intercession, was no longer in danger of destruction by "phenomena" inflicted upon it by "certain military units." [FBIS: The district has for years been the site of artillery maneuvers.] Rumor has it, though, that damage to the monastery complex continues. Tsitsishvili counters that the "military units" have been moved to Azerbaijani territory, although "some details have yet to be worked out." It is acknowledged, in this connection, that Azerbaijani authorities have generously given permission to carry out restoration work on the Bertubani Monastery, located just across the border in Azerbaijan.

Armenian Daily Reports Statistics on Vagrancy
18300181 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 11 Feb 88
p 4

[Article by A. Lorents: "The 'Grandchildren' of Lieutenant Schmidt"]

[Text] In 1987 362 people were delivered to the receiving and distribution center of the Internal Affairs Administration of the city of Yerevan. (Here and further the data of the Internal Affairs Administration of the Yerevan Gorskpolkom)

On New Year's Eve I became the witness of an explanation of relations among beggars. This took place at the covered market on Prospekt Lenina. The essence of the conflict boiled down to the fact that one of the tramps, who had been ordered to work in the Arabkir Rayon, violated the agreement and appeared in someone else's territory. The ragamuffins, with dark glasses flashing, shouted at each other under the bewildered looks of the passers-by, who just a minute ago had voluntarily parted with ten-kopeck coins and five-kopeck coins. The expelled violator of the agreement got on a bus that had come along. It turned out that we were going in the same direction.

At the covered market on Uliitsa Komitasa, a blind man got off, already leaning on his girl-guide, and here at the bus stop, beginning to shake in a picturesque manner, began holding out his hand to the passers-by.

Charity, evidently, is something with which nature has endowed man. Upon meeting a cripple or a pauper, the hand involuntarily itself drops into the pocket for change. And with what happiness and sense of having performed a good deed do the eyes of little children light up when they give five-kopeck pieces from their mothers to cripples.

For a long time we have closed our eyes to what has been going on around us. To the provocatively dressed women strolling in front of hotel entrances, to the unnaturally cheerful youths with feverish brilliance and empty eyes. Drug addiction and prostitution are words which recently have entered into our everyday vocabulary. For many years these socially dangerous phenomena supposedly did not exist. It is time to reckon among them begging and vagrancy. One can encounter untidy, unshaven representatives of the urban bottom, dressed in rags, with dark glasses under caps pulled down over the forehead, in underground passages, on means of transportation, and at the gates of cemeteries. At the same time, one of the Arabkir "shakers" works at the Erebuni Market as a loader, and the "blind man" well known in this rayon likes to warm himself in the sun in the summer and read the newspaper in the center of town, in the Kirov Park—a little farther from his place of "work." In short, these are completely healthy people, who engage in fraud by way of "individual labor activity."

Begging is not the most urgent of the urban problems in our country. If we can believe the statistics, Yerevan in this respect is better off than other large cities of the Soviet Union. But this manifestation of human trouble, too, influences the purity of the moral climate in the city.

"Of the total number of people delivered, inhabitants of Yerevan accounted for 34, the rayons of Armenia—62, and other republics and cities—226. Women among them—245."

Is this a lot or a few, several hundred vagrants for a city of more than a million? A public danger of a social type is not always determined by a qualitative factor. Vagrants can serve as the peddlers of dangerous illnesses and be the intermediaries in speculative deals, and assist in the perpetration of various crimes. As a rule, that is how it is, because the connection with the criminal or near-criminal world, even though an indirect one, gives them the means for existence. Not having a permanent place of residence, predisposed to alcoholism and drug addiction, vagrants spend the night in deserted houses and during the days loiter around city dumps, beg at cemeteries and churches. For women, prostitution becomes the basic means of earning a living.

"Among those detained, 71 persons suffered from venereal diseases."

The migration of the "rolling stone" people takes place in accordance with laws known only to them. The wireless supplies information about the situation in different regions of the country. They travel in passing cars, on railway platforms, and in freight cars. One adventuress, who was arrested directly at the railway station, exclaimed in a fit of temper: "They warned me not to go to Yerevan now!"

Vagrancy is more characteristic for the regions of Siberia and the Far East, though the newspapers recently reported the exposure of a whole army of vagrants in localities near Moscow. It is reinforced by insolvent hunters of quick and easy money, former geologists and oil production workers, polar navigation sailors, getting home on dry land, having left their Far Eastern port of arrival—"bichi", as they call themselves.

What is Armenia's attraction for people without a passport? The social portrait of the local tramp still has to be written. Perhaps he is attracted by the blessings of the south or the well-known generosity and soft-heartedness of our people, who sincerely sympathize with the unknown person who has found himself in trouble?

For the militia, this is a person without a passport, who frequently is also in no hurry to reveal his real name. He calls himself, let us say, Petr Ivanov from Perm, the militia—ascertain whether such a person lived in Perm, whether he agrees with the verbal portrait. And, perhaps, is he a dangerous recidivist, with a whole train of crimes behind him? Well, but tomorrow, you see, he calls

himself Ivan Petrov from Saratov, and you again have to prove that this is not so. The tramps who are passing through give the militia a great deal of trouble.

"One hundred-twelve persons were convicted last year, of them—68 for vagrancy and begging."

In all cases, the militia is obligated to establish the identity of the detained person, issue him a new passport, and find him work. And it is possible that he did not lose his passport, but simply tossed it away, and that he will probably do the same with the new one. Enterprise directors are apprehensive about accepting such individuals for work. Their ardor to work lasts perhaps for a month. One fine day, the "worker" disappears without a trace, having dropped everything.

There is, all the same, a flaw in the system of the moral education of an individual and his environment if a person, simply like that, has the possibility to become a tramp.

For the most part, the fallen people come from unhappy families, are runaways from children's homes, who came under bad influence, did not endure parental beatings and drinking sprees, yesterday's juveniles who were deprived of the attention of a school, with spite in their heart and an embittered soul. The old residents of Yerevan remember the neighborhood of the Surb Sarkis Church. How many "deserted and hapless" people have crowded by its walls, have seized people by the hand, and have asked for alms. It would be sufficient to reconstruct the church and to modernize the district around it, and there would be almost no beggars there.

"For vagrancy and begging, leading a parasitic way of life, 19 people had criminal proceedings instituted against them in accordance with Article 225 of the ArSSR Criminal Code, and 205 were warned about putting a stop to their parasitical way of life."

But this means that the majority of the 205 people were sent to their home towns, with their being given a return ticket at state expense. Will they go all the way home or will they get off at the nearest station and disappear in the mass of people? It is up to on us to see that this does not happen.

"What are you writing about now?" a friend recently inquired. "About vagrants?" he expressed his sincere surprise. "Do they really exist in our country?" They do not only exist, but they will continue to exist until we want to take notice of them.

Procuracy Urges More Study, Publication of Crime Statistics

18000265 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST in Russian No 2, Feb 88 (signed to press 26 Jan 88) pp 17-20

[Interview with S. Tyurin, chief of the department of statistics of the USSR Procuracy; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is unattributed source introduction]

[Text] The influence of criminal law statistics on the effectiveness of measures taken in combating crime, an innovation in the keeping of crime records, changes in procuracy and investigative statistics, and the publication of data on the crime rate in the mass press—these are the topics of our conversation.

[Question] Sergey Vasilyevich, we know what a great role statistics play in various branches of present-day society. They are a kind of mirror of social development. Without question, it is necessary that this mirror be as accurate as possible and reflect reality without distortions, in order that the mistakes and omissions brought to light as the result of a critical analysis of the data in statistical reports can be more rapidly eliminated. The party has set the task of making statistics an effective tool for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. How is this task being carried out in criminal law statistics?

[Answer] In the context of restructuring it is true that the importance of statistics, like the importance of other things, is increasing: reliable, intelligent statistics are capable of becoming a powerful management lever for the adoption of the most effective decisions. All this pertains directly to criminal law statistics, among others, and especially to crime statistics. Let me explain what I have said. Investigative, judicial and, for the most part, procuracy statistics, for example, merely reflect the results of the reaction to crimes and the work of investigative agencies and the courts. But crime statistics should serve the purpose of identifying the forms of this complex social phenomenon, detecting and demonstrating objective processes taking place with regard to crime, and providing a sound basis for studying the causes and conditions contributing to the commission of crimes. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to achieve completeness and reliability in crime statistics, which is possible, in turn, only if the keeping of crime records is correctly organized in the country.

These propositions are very important for practice and have become urgent. That is why the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have adopted a number of radical measures in recent years to establish order in crime statistics. Serious changes and clarifications have been introduced into the system of record keeping aimed at strengthening in it uniform principles

and rules that are based on the law and laws. One can even say that a kind of reform of the system of crime record keeping has been carried out.

[Question] Could you illustrate that idea with some specific examples?

[Answer] First of all, a great deal has been done to establish the uniformity of rules and methods in the keeping of crime records and legal principles in that undertaking.

Although our country had a 30 December 1965 directive defining the basic rules and methods for the keeping of crime records, many of its provisions had become obsolete and fallen behind present-day requirements and concepts, and some of them had ceased to be observed. Gradually, under the influence of local and departmental decisions, the system of keeping crime records came to be, to a considerable extent, eroded and disorganized, and deviations from uniform and legal principles for the keeping of records on and calculation of the level of crime and the solution of crimes started to occur everywhere. To a large degree, that was contributed to by the fact that, to all intents and purposes, there ceased to be any uniform system of primary record and registration documents pertaining to crimes and the persons who committed them, and other record documents, without which, as a basis, it is impossible to ensure uniform principles for keeping records on and evaluating the crime rate and the rate of crimes solved.

In every union republic and even every oblast and kray, local internal affairs agencies would institute their own record and registration documents. And explanations for doing so were always found: either the specific features of a region, or some fabricated requirements. In reality, however, this was nothing but a desire by people to make their own situation easier, circumvent the fundamental requirements of uniform record keeping, and introduce their own concepts of the solution of crimes, their own system of calculating the rate of solution, etc. In particular, the method of calculating the rate of crime solution on the basis of whether there was a suspect became extremely widespread, and many nonlegal concepts were incorporated in primary records. As a result, the system of keeping records on crime and crime solution became unmanageable, and its uniform principles ended up being undermined.

That is why fundamental decisions were needed in strengthening uniformity in the system of keeping crime records. They were taken. On 30 December 1985 the USSR Procurator General approved a new version of the directive on the uniform keeping of crime records. Then the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs drew up and introduced as of 1 January 1987 uniform document forms for the keeping of primary crime records. Local agencies are categorically forbidden to make any changes in them. The authority to do so lies solely with the USSR Procuracy and USSR Ministry of

Internal Affairs. Thus, a solid barrier has been erected to those who like to create their own, "home-grown" criteria for calculating and evaluating, and to inflate records in the process. And that means that crime statistics will become more accurate, useful and effective for practice.

The role of procuracy oversight to ensure the completeness and reliability of crime records has been considerably enhanced. Now the procurator has been given a real and effective means of oversight over the correctness with which crime records are kept: he signs record and registration documents drawn up by investigative agencies. Henceforth, uniform statistical cards on a crime, the solution of a crime, etc. may be accepted for official records only after they have been signed by a procurator. Changes in them can be made only with the sanction of the procurator who has signed the card. Of course, this has armed the procurator with effective means of monitoring the correctness and reliability of the information indicated on the cards, as well as the observance of timeliness in the presentation of record and registration documents. The procurators who genuinely desire to exercise oversight to ensure the completeness and reliability of records on crimes and the solution of crimes are making use of these possibilities. But unfortunately, there are also those who have greeted the innovation as a burden.

There is one other important circumstance. The 30 December 1985 directive on the uniform keeping of crime records states that primary record and registration documents are completed and signed only by the person who has instituted criminal proceedings or made a different decision with regard to the case under investigation by him or material he has authorized. This rules out the possibility that such documents can be drawn up by persons who have not made decisions on the case under investigation, such as personnel involved in the initial search for the perpetrator of a crime.

The points at which crimes and the persons who have committed them are registered are defined more precisely: a crime—only after criminal proceedings have been instituted, and the person who has committed the crime—only after the procurator has approved the formal charges.

Very important provisions have been introduced to regularize the keeping of records on and calculation of the rate of crime solution. The definition of a solved crime, for example, has been clarified. The possibility of counting a crime solved on the basis of the establishment of a so-called suspect, even one who has been arrested, is completely rejected. It has been established that now a crime can be considered solved only when an accusation of committing that crime has been made against a specific person.

The implementation of fundamental rules for the keeping of records on the crime rate and rate of solution of crimes has made it possible to substantially regularize

these records and strengthen record-keeping discipline and uniform principles for calculating and evaluating the state of the crime rate and rate of crime solution. All this has unquestionably helped enhance the fight against crime.

[Question] In the final analysis, work on combating crime was evaluated and, evidently, is still evaluated now mainly on the basis of the results of crime solution. But are the actual criteria for determining that a crime has been solved sufficiently effective and well substantiated?

[Answer] That, one may say, is a key question. The rate of crime solution lies at the basis of the evaluation of work, especially of the internal affairs agencies. And it is true that the criteria for calculating the rate of crime solution are very important for the evaluation of work. It is precisely in the calculation of the rate of crime solution that a good many negative phenomena accumulated that made it possible to manipulate the indices and portray well-being where it did not exist.

The search for better forms and criteria for calculating the rate of crime solution did not end with the introduction of changes in the system of record keeping in 1985-1986. Therefore, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR Procuracy adopted a decision, as of 1 January 1987, to consider solved only a crime for which the investigation has been completed and formal charges have been approved by the procurator, and to consider the main criterion for evaluating the rate of crime solution to be the number and percentage of crimes that remain unsolved. Moreover, the concept of an unsolved crime has been given in accordance with law, as a crime with respect to which proceedings have been dropped because of the failure to establish a person who can be named as a defendant (Art. 195, part 1, point 3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code).

Thus, a major step has been taken not only in regularizing the keeping of records on crime and crime solution, but also in setting up a system for the more correct and realistic evaluation of work on solving crimes and establishing the principles of law in doing so.

[Question] You mentioned investigative and procuracy statistics. What is new in them?

[Answer] As of 1 January 1988, the volume of reporting here has been substantially reduced, and the intervals at which reports are presented have been lengthened—all reporting has been shifted to a six-month interval. Moreover, a number of new indices have been introduced that improve statistics and increase the amount of information they contain.

For example, in the report on investigative work, indices have been introduced that substantially expand information on the time taken by the investigation and the length of time a defendant is kept under arrest, and provision

has been made for data on the returning of cases for additional investigation in connection with violations of the right to defense, for records on persons released from arrest and arrested according to the procedures specified in Art. 90 of the RSFSR Criminal Procedural Code, and a number of other new indices.

Substantial changes have been made in the report on the procurator's work. They consist primarily in a considerable expansion of the informational and evaluational content of reports. It is now possible to obtain from them more complete information on the quality and effectiveness of the procuracy's work, as well as on the main areas of the procuracy's work under present-day conditions—the strengthening of legality in the national economy, and the protection of Soviet citizens' rights and legitimate interests.

It is necessary to caution against extremes. I would not want for what I have said to give the impression that former reports were utterly worthless and useless. That is not the case. In the new form of the procurator's report, the continuity and comparability of indices have been observed. It preserves the basic indices of the procurator's work. For example, information on checkups, protests and representations, i.e., the main areas and documents in the procurator's work. But now this information will be accompanied by indices that to some extent reveal the qualitative side, the degree of effectiveness of actions taken by the procurator, and the extent to which they are warranted and lawful. That is where the innovation and the importance of the changes lie. Thus, figures on checkups will be accompanied by information on the number and types of violations of law uncovered, figures on protests will be accompanied by an indication of how many of them were rejected, and figures on the satisfaction of protests will be accompanied by an indication of the number of illegal legal acts revoked or changed. Other indices have also been introduced that characterize the legality and justifiability of the procurator's actions and legal acts with respect to general oversight and other branches of the procurator's work.

[Question] Sergey Vasilyevich, I would like to clarify one circumstance. In evaluating the procuracy's work, in addition to statistical data it is probably necessary to utilize other information, as well.

[Answer] Of course, it is necessary to use, in addition to statistics, a huge amount of operational information that accumulates in the procuracy agencies as a result of the examination and resolution of cases, materials, complaints, visits, checkups, and the generalization and analysis of all these and other materials. Statistics can and should take into account only the most important and fundamental aspects of any phenomenon. In addition, statistical data must not be interpreted as a ready-made evaluation of work or any phenomenon or state of affairs. The USSR Procurator General pointed this out in his 12 February 1987 order "On Shortcomings in the

Use of Statistical Information in the Guidance of Sub-ordinate Agencies. One must not expect ready-made and unambiguous evaluations and performance ratings from statistical reports. It is necessary to analyze what lies behind the figures and compare them to each other and to reality, and only then begin to evaluate the work of a procurator and to develop practical recommendations.

This has to be mentioned because some practitioners and even some scholars understand statistics as a compilation of some sort of dogmas that are capable of providing a ready-made answer to any question, and not as material for scrupulous analysis and only afterwards—for conclusions.

Attempts to resolve everything with the help of statistics are sometimes taken to the point of absurdity. And you do not have to go far for examples.

The journal SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST (No 3, 1987) carried an article by Candidate of Legal Sciences Z. Yenikeev titled "Criteria of the Legality of Arrests." What a title! It turns out that the criterion of legality is not the law but some sort of other concepts that exist outside the law. And indeed, Z. Yenikeev seeks those criteria not in the law but in statistics. He has discovered that, it turns out, statistics provide a "statistical evaluation of the legality of arrests," and he reaches the conclusion that "existing statistical forms do not fully provide for such an evaluation." Because they do not, for example, take into account how many citizens are arrested without the institution of criminal proceedings, and in other flagrant instances, as well. Well, isn't it clear that such statistics cannot exist, since the concept of legality is an evaluative one, not a statistical one. Statistics only provide the data on the general number of persons arrested and released from arrest, breaking them down according to the grounds for release: for acquittal, for the termination of proceedings, etc. But as for the legality or illegality of arrests, one must analyze each case individually.

Statistics reflect only the "external" and "quantitative" side of phenomena, and statistical data must be correctly understood and interpreted. The mechanical and simplistic interpretation and application of statistical data give rise only to formalism and, as experience indicates, to attempts to adapt to statistics and, if you will, even to make statistics with a view to the evaluative constructs and views of a given executive.

[Question] Let's get away a bit from criminal statistics. One often hears practitioners say: why don't statistical reports—both the former ones and the new ones—take into account the work of procurators that is not formalized, i.e., that is not expressed in the comparison of procedural documents? In particular, why don't they take into account voluntary compensation for damage at the procurator's suggestion?

[Answer] An old question. It must be said that in the discussion of the new report form, this and many other questions were the subject of heated debates. The draft reports were discussed at a session of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy, where the groundlessness of such proposals was brought to light.

As a rule, such proposals are based on a nihilistic attitude toward the norms of law and the specific features of statistics. Moreover, legal indiscriminateness is frequently added. In the heat of the pursuit for illusory innovation, people sometimes forget the unshakeable proposition—statistics must not be identified with operational information. State statistics (and our statistics are state statistics) may contain only items that are based on the law and laws, directives and orders of the USSR Procurator General. Moreover, they must be materialized in cases and procedural documents. These concepts and items should be revealed and explained in detail in instructions for statistical reporting. Oversimplification in statistics is just as impermissible as oversimplification in the application of the law.

The law does not regulate the actions of the procurator with regard to the voluntary compensation for damages, just as there are no normative directives of the USSR Procurator General on this matter. On the basis of what materials, in what cases and with relation to what persons are a procurator's proposals for the voluntary compensation for damages possible? How and by what means in such cases are guarantees provided that the recovery of damages is legal? In particular, how is a procurator's proposal for the voluntary compensation for damages officially drawn up?

It is no secret that many procurators prefer this way of compensating for damages because they do not bind themselves by any official decisions or any documentation, in general. But to compel citizens to compensate for damages without guaranteeing the unconditional legality and justifiability of that measure is impermissible on any pretext—even on the pretext of its so-called voluntary nature.

That is why statistics could not adopt such a vague item, which is unregulated either by law or by departmental normative acts, although the practice of the voluntary compensation for damages exists, and the absence of data on it in statistics by no means indicates the denial of its possibility.

We also heard the following criticism: why do reports not take into account the data on persons on whom material penalties are imposed in accordance with procurators' rulings? The reason is that this practice serves precisely as an example of oversimplification in the application of the law, for the Law on the USSR Procuracy (Art. 26) makes no provision for such rulings. In issuing them, the procurator unquestionably makes his situation easier, but unfortunately, he does so by exceeding his authority. Put more simply, this is an arbitrary action and it, of

course, cannot be reflected in statistics. In the new directive on statistical reporting it was necessary to specify: "The procurator has no right to issue any rulings on the imposition of material penalties. The issuance by a procurator of such rulings...is a flagrant violation of legality and an exceeding of his rights."

In general, there were very many proposals on changing statistics. It got to the point of absurdity. One oblast procurator's assistant for organization and monitoring the implementation of decisions proposed, for example, that information on the fulfillment of procuracy work plans be included in statistical reports. He asserted that this should raise the effectiveness of oversight work, and that statistics could keep track of the fulfillment of plans without anyone's making local visits. Simple and convenient. You count up the numbers in a statistical report, figure out the percentages and keep track of your plan fulfillment without leaving your desk. And it never occurred to him that the plan is not dogma but a guideline for action, and that since the procurator himself draws up the plan, he himself can also adjust it if the circumstances demand it. And there are no figures or percentages with which you can measure that process.

[Question] But let's return to the basic subject of our conversation. At the present time significantly more data on the crime situation has started to be published both in the mass press and the legal press. What can you say about that?

[Answer] The development of glasnost applies fully to criminal law statistics. Executives of law-enforcement agencies now use statistics rather frequently both in the press and in radio and television appearances. In particular, they present information on the number of violations of traffic laws that have had serious consequences, on drug abuse, etc. The newspaper IZVESTIYA published figures on convictions for the first six months of 1987 for several types of crime, including murder, the theft of socialist and personal property, home distilling, etc. Data on convictions for certain types of crime for all of 1987 will be published. So glasnost is gaining momentum here, as elsewhere. And we do not particularly have anything to hide. In terms of the crime rate, our country is in no worse position and, in many respects, is even in a better position than the developed capitalist countries. For example, this is true in terms of drug abuse, murder, etc.

For example, one could cite comparisons with respect to thefts and robberies, the official data on which exist in the United States' statistical compilation for 1986. It gives figures for 1984. If these figures are compared to the figures on the same crimes registered in the USSR, one can conclude that the rates of these crimes in 1984 were: 30 cases per 100,000 members of the population in the USSR, and 205 cases per 100,000—i.e., seven times as high—in the United States. Moreover, one can only add that in 1986 the number of robberies and thefts in the USSR was reduced by 33.9 percent, and the rate of

robberies and thefts was reduced to 19 cases per 100,000, while in the United States, according to certain figures in the American press, the number of these crimes continued to rise.

The publication of data on convictions is, unquestionably, a gratifying phenomenon. Although it must be said that the comparisons of both the crime rate and conviction rate both as a whole and with regard to particular types of crime must be done very carefully, because of the fundamental difference between social systems and between the specific social features of crime and the structure of crime. Comparisons may be made only by means of a careful and in-depth scientific analysis of the specific items being compared.

Another reason we need glasnost is to expand the possibilities for the active participation of the public and scholarship in the search for the most effective ways to combat crime.

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Journalist Urges More Humane Treatment For Drug Addicts

18300190 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 8,
20-27 Feb 88 pp 19-23

[Article by Irina Vedeneyeva: "At the Limit" (First two paragraphs are source introduction)]

[Excerpts] A woman was leaving the office of Moscow's chief drug treatment specialist. On the outside her face was calm. On second thought, it was somehow hopelessly calm. The conversation which had just taken place in the office might at first glance seem strange to an outsider. The doctors were trying to talk the woman into saving her only daughter. And she was refusing.

Once her daughter was a happy, pretty, intelligent girl. She was a good student and participated in sports. She was planning to enter the institute. Several years have passed since that time, from the very moment when her mother accidentally saw the needle marks on her arm and guessed what they were. These years passed like a nightmare. The mother went from one person to the next—doctors, psychologists, the police, fortune tellers, friends and teachers. But nothing helped. Life now consisted of stages: the hospital, punishment, running away from home, and again the police and the hospital... And all the while the girl was becoming ever more withdrawn, ever angrier. She was drawing farther and farther away from people.

The words "drug addict" for us were always associated with the word "criminal". And criminals must be isolated from society. They must be cast out or put behind bars. And they were put behind bars, cast out and isolated. It was enough to find a syringe and ampule in a

drug addict's apartment, and he could be sent off to a penal colony for 5 or 7 years. These people came out of the penal colonies angry, exhausted, having served their time among criminals. They had been torn away from the lives of their contemporaries, and therefore they returned with a new force, and again turned to drugs, this time forever. And all the while new ones were being placed behind bars...

Yet here is the strange thing: despite the severe measures, the number of drug addicts has not declined. On the contrary, it has continued to increase.

Today in the press the question of excess severity of our Criminal Code as compared to the criminal codes of other developed countries is finally being discussed. (And we have always considered ourselves to be the most humane).

Many people are now fiercely indignant at this. What is the point, they say, of pursuing humanism with these good-for-nothings, these drug addicts. There is not always enough of it for normal, decent people, and you want to feel sorry for these [addicts]!

But, as one jurist noted so aptly, humanism is such a thing which in principle cannot be selective. If it is lacking at one extreme of society—in relation to criminals, then we cannot expect it at the other—in relation to all of us.

But the main thing, which has already been proven by statistics, is the fact that excess severity of the laws does not reduce the number of crimes but, as paradoxical as this may seem, actually increases it.

Today the article in the Criminal Code relating to drug addicts has been somewhat attenuated. If you use drugs yourself and do not involve others in this, you are not yet a criminal, but just a sick person. Not an ordinary sick person, it is true, but one who is reported to the police and forcibly taken to the hospital. Nevertheless, you are a sick person who must be treated.

The first thing I try to find out from the doctors at the drug treatment department is the remission of the patients, i.e., the duration of time after treatment when the drug addict does not use drugs. This is the most important statistic. In other words, I want to determine the effectiveness of treatment of the patients, at least during the past year.

"We too would like very much to determine this," the doctors answer. "You can believe that we too are interested in the effectiveness of our treatment. But alas...no one is working on this. The hospital puts the drug addict back on his feet and discharges him, writes him off to a clinic. But how long they stay off the needle once they get there, maybe a year or maybe only a day, we don't know. We have no contact with the clinics. Of course, this is not

normal, but the doctors themselves can't run to the clinics to find out about their patients. This must be done by a special service, which we don't have."

"But maybe the patients are not cured at all?", I rightly ask. "If the doctors themselves are not sure of this..."

"Maybe they never are cured," they agree. "Who knows..."

Perhaps I am somewhat exaggerating our conversation with the doctors. The conversation was, naturally, much more thorough and longer. But I am not changing its essence. The doctors do not know the effectiveness of their work. As absurd as it may seem, even the specialists themselves do not know the figures which all of society should know.

I recalled also the stories of the juveniles about the horrible treatment. I was told to talk about this with a specialist in child psychiatry, a department head at the 2nd Moscow Medical Institute operating out of Hospital No. 15, Professor Irina Nikolayevna Pyatnitskaya.

"Well, what kind of normal treatment can there be as long as drug addicts are placed together with mental patients?", sighs Irina Nikolayevna. "We don't have a single juvenile department in the city. There is simply nowhere to place these juveniles. We need special departments, special doctors, psychiatrists, drug treatment specialists who are familiar with the basics of the child and juvenile psyche. But to lump everyone into a single hospital and to expect results is laughable... Here they go through a basic 'school of life'. From the mentally unstable they learn how to 'feign schizophrenia', and from the experienced drug addicts they get recipes for new drugs. The situation which has arisen with the treatment of children and juveniles is extremely alarming. A huge number of children have been neglected due to the elementary ignorance of child psychology by doctors and pedagogues. Let us take, for example, a mild dysfunction of the brain—often a consequence of alcoholism of the parents. It is present today in very many children. Such youngsters should be given more attention from early childhood. They need special upbringing, a different approach. There must be special groups for them in kindergarten. Then by the time they reach their teenage years they will catch up with others their age. But have you seen this special attention? And what about the younger grades? Very often such children are simply yelled at and cursed... As a result, when they reach their teenage years, nothing can be done. The person becomes an invalid, and then a glue sniffer, a drug addict, a toxic substance abuser, a criminal, whatever you like! And who is to blame? We must blame ourselves! We simply can't understand that a hospital and medication, no matter how wonderful they may be, will not cure a drug addict. It is society which must cure him, and as yet society doesn't know how to do this."

For the present day, the 17th Drug Treatment Hospital is the main treatment center in the struggle against drug addiction. The city's only laboratory with a drug diagnostic facility is located here.

Undoubtedly, this hospital has a more civilized appearance than the previous one. But what about treatment?

"We too have no differentiation of patients. The young, the aged, the beginners and the 'concluders'—all are placed together," says Department Head V. V. Nazarov. "Recently my patients came to me themselves. They were long-time drug addicts. They said that until we begin placing the juveniles separately from them, our treatment will be ineffective. Just imagine, it is the drug addicts themselves who say this! They have gotten this from their own experience..."

While we were talking, policemen were walking around the department.

"Why so many policemen?", I asked V. V. Nazarov.

"We are struggling with those who don't want to be treated," he explained. "Now they're going to take away one drug addict. He has already brought drugs into the department several times. He has been warned, but did not learn his lesson. I asked that he be removed. If he doesn't want to be treated, then we shouldn't treat him..."

A tall, pale, thin man was pacing in a hunted manner, like an animal, behind the glass wall of the ward marked "Intensive Therapy". He was waiting for them to finish making out the paperwork and to come and get him.

"A drug addict is a socially dangerous person," said Nazarov. "Today some doctors maintain that drug addicts should be given anonymous treatment. I consider this pseudohumanism to be useless and even harmful. We need strict police control, record keeping, official hospital treatment, and complete openness. If you want to be a citizen of society with full rights, you have to prove it by your actions. And if you don't, then you will be treated like that man..."

...The police led the drug addict away past us. They were leading him away to a place where they do not treat them. Or at least, they do not cure them. He walked along with obedient indifference, accompanied by two policemen. There was something hopelessly bad about his departure. It was like an admission of our own helplessness: we can't cure him, so we'll get rid of him...

The psychologist of the women's section of this same hospital, Marina Vladimirovna Kovalchuk, is evidently one of those whom Nazarov refers to as pseudohumanists. She is actively working for anonymous treatment.

"It was after long conversations with patients, when I found out about their histories, that I understood once again how necessary it is for us to have anonymous treatment," said Marina Vladimirovna Kovalchuk. Almost all the girls went through a period when they wanted to consult with someone, to confess, to find out what to do next. But you have to agree that one would hardly go to seek advice knowing he will immediately be placed on police report. Many are afraid not just for themselves, but for their parents. They don't want to let them down. And many of the parents themselves don't know where to turn so as not to do harm to their child. Naturally, there can be no anonymous treatment for drug addicts who have committed crimes against the law. But there are others, like these girls, for example. They are confused, alone, and find no support from anyone. They have already done so much harm to themselves, perhaps not even suspecting how much. They have taken so much away from themselves that we simply have to try to help them. And we must help them with kindness, not with punitive measures. Any self-respecting society cannot allow itself to sink to hatred for sick and confused people. It must be wiser and stronger than those who do not know how to live.

Marina Vladimirovna gave her home phone number to all her former patients who were discharged from the hospital. She said to them: if you feel bad, lonely, difficult—call me. And they do call, sometimes during the day, sometimes at night. By their voice Marina Vladimirovna understands that they are on the edge of a breakdown, that they are lonely, that they have no one to help them. Sometimes the doctor and the former patient talk for several hours, and this long conversation ends only when Marina Vladimirovna feels that the danger seems to have passed...

"As long as there is no trust in doctors, as long as it is mainly the police who bring patients to our hospital," says Marina Vladimirovna, "we cannot handle drug addiction".

These are two such different views of the problem of treating drug addicts held by doctors even at the same hospital. We must say that for the present moment the official viewpoint is the one taken by Nazarov. We have no anonymity in treating drug addicts. As before, it is believed that the treatment must be performed only by the hospital and only after the person has been placed on police report.

However, we do have one statistic. I was able to obtain it, not without some difficulty, at Hospital No. 17. It is the remission of those patients who have been in the hospital over the course of the year. This figure comprises less than 10 percent. We must say, it is a very sad figure. It indicates that after treatment, in the best case, only 1 out of 10 patients does not return to drug use.

These sad percentages illuminate a number of problems which have accumulated today in our drug treatment programs. In the city's only laboratory where drug addicts are brought from everywhere for examination, the equipment is so outdated that, in the words of laboratory Chief Aleksey Viktorovich Kroklin, it reflects not yesterday, but the past century. Yet in the laboratory for anti-doping control for athletes the instruments are all in good working order—they are the latest word in technology. I don't want to argue on the topic of where the instruments are most needed and should be better. They should be good everywhere. Today we have a shortage of instruments and reagents. Biochemical diagnostics is extremely weak. Yet without it precise diagnosis, and consequently proper treatment, is unthinkable. Concealed cases are poorly identified, and this means we must deal primarily with patients who have reached a neglected state. And those who are in a neglected state are much more difficult, if not impossible, to treat...

There is one other problem, perhaps the main one for the present day. Drug addiction is not pneumonia, dysentery or the plague. It cannot be cured with medication. Medicine can only be used to bring an organism to order in the hospital. And then what? What can we do with the nagging that does not allow a person to live a normal life?

We can, of course, try to "cure" a drug addict by force. If you don't want to understand, you good-for-nothing, that real life is better than the one you have, we'll force you to!

We can try to solve the problem strictly by police methods. We can cut off all access to narcotics, put all the drug addicts in jail, and consider that everything is in order.

But alas... We have prohibited the sowing of opium poppies, and they have started using ordinary poppies. We have removed the "natural" narcotics, and the chemical ones, which are even more dangerous, have become widespread. We have imposed a stricter struggle against drug addicts, and the number of toxic substance abusers has increased. And toxic substance abusers, we might add, can be anyone—either children or juveniles. Specialists believe that it is practically impossible to close off the access to toxic substances. No one is able to foretell what "new" thing the rapidly developing chemistry will bring.

Recently the new documentary film produced by Andrey Nikishin, "Risk Group", was shown. The film told about those who run the greatest risk of contracting AIDS—prostitutes, drug addicts and homosexuals. The makers of the film tried not simply to condemn those whom this film was about, but tried to understand them so that all of us together could think of how to help them. Immediately after its screening, the film evoked bitter arguments. Those who do not accept the film blame its makers specifically for...humanism. They say that the

filmmakers look upon these dregs of society as if they were people. They try to talk to them, to listen to them and even to understand them!

It is only the methods of a harsh, forceful attitude toward these same drug addicts which are not new in world practice. The West, which was faced with this problem longer than us, has for many long years tried everything. They put them in jail, they beat them, and they degraded them. Yet drug addiction still continued to grow and grow. And then they stopped. Rational programs, well thought out to the smallest details, emerged for combatting drug addiction. There is such a program in the USA and in the countries of Western Europe. The socialist countries have also actively included themselves in this work. Many have probably heard about the unique experience of the Polish Association to Combat Drug Addiction.

We are not well aware of the problem and study it poorly. Age, sex, social origin, regions and causes... We have no such studies, or if we do have them, even the specialists are not aware of them. Without these data we are condemned to a passive struggle with drug addiction, and will for a long time have those same sad percentages of remission...

In Hospital No. 17 I learned that it was the patients themselves who presented the suggestion of helping them to create a society for former drug addicts. Naturally, it would be strictly voluntary. Under the supervision of doctors and psychologists, this society would bring together those who have been cured and those who want to be cured. The former drug addicts would support and help each other. This is particularly important for those who have recently left the hospital. They find themselves in the most difficult situation, without any support. They are essentially alone in combatting themselves, their illness, their former environment, and all of us who have placed the stamp of rejection on the drug addict. Such an association, such a society of former drug addicts, can accomplish very much.

In my opinion, we have already come to an understanding of the fact that we will never be able to cope with the most acute problem of drug addiction in the way in which we combatted it before—with noise, with pomp, and with swords drawn. We need a new understanding and a new approach. But why a new one? The ancients said that the true morality of a person is defined by his attitude not toward the strong, but toward the weak. Toward the weak...

They need our help.

Leningrad Drug, Prostitution, Other Crime Data Discussed
18000254 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 88 pp2-3

[Interview with Lt General A. A. Kurkov, chief of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs of the Leningrad Oblast gorispolkoms by I. Lisochkin, LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent: "Topical Conversations: 'Let Us Objectively. . . ."; date and place not specified; first paragraph is LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Recently, at a meeting of the collegium of the Main Administration for Internal Affairs of the Leningrad Oblast gorispolkoms, the work of the organs of the militia for the year was summarized. In connection with this, our correspondent I. Lisochkin, asked the chief of the Main Administration, Lt Gen A. A. Kurkov, to reply to the questions that are most often received in our editorial offices.

[Question] The abundance of notes and articles about instances of crime, reports, and speculative articles connected with the activity of the law enforcement organs is giving rise to nervousness among a significant part of our population and the feeling that crime in the city and oblast is increasing. Is that so?

[Answer] No. There has simply been an increase in information. We feel that in the conditions of restructuring the intolerance of Leningrad residents with respect to any negative phenomena and violations of public order is intensifying. The effectiveness and quality of the work of the internal affairs organs today are constantly in the center of attention of the broad public. The residents of Leningrad can and must have a real concept of the full scale and acuteness of the problems of the struggle against crime and violations of the law. The honest, though impartial, discussion of these problems in the press, on television, and in the labor collectives is useful to all.

But if the work of the mass media leads to the judgments you have talked about, I am prepared to refute them. The total number of crimes have decreased to 2,683. The number of more serious crimes, which are taken up by the Criminal Investigation Department, have decreased by 19.3 percent in the city and by 28.2 percent in the oblast. Noticeably fewer murders, rapes, robberies, manifestations of hooliganism subject to criminal punishment, and some other types of crimes are being committed in Leningrad and in the oblast.

One of the basic directions of our activity is the struggle against misdemeanors in office and economic crimes. Now the Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Public Property and Speculation cooperates better with other law enforcement and financial organs, the control and auditing apparatuses of the various departments, and the people's control committees. We

have succeeded in suppressing the criminal activity of large concealed groups of plunderers and bribe-takers in the trade and public catering systems, in the agro-industrial complex, in construction, and in other sectors of the national economy. Material values amounting to more than 2 million rubles have been taken from criminals and turned over to the state treasury.

But we cannot acknowledge the securing of the safety of socialist property as satisfactory for the time being. Compelled to take up and investigate a large volume of materials in regard to crimes of small significance, the staff members of the Administration for the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Public Property and Speculation have not utilized all their possibilities in the struggle against the most dangerous crimes of that type. This pertains, for example, to the Vyborg, Oktyabrskiy, and Petrogradskiy rayons of the city, and the Vyborgskiy, Kirishskiy, and Kirovskiy rayons of the oblast. True, there are some objective reasons for this, but, I believe, one should not put the blame on them, but should search for new approaches and new ways of increasing the effectiveness of our work in the struggle against crime in the economic sphere.

[Question] We are talking about the general reduction in crime, but are there not forms of it that are on the rise?

[Answer] Unfortunately, there are. There was an increase last year in the number of thefts of personal property (+942). The main part of this growth is made up of thefts of various motor vehicle parts: windshields, radio equipment, wheels and so on. And both in the city (+251) and in the oblast (+122) there has been an increase in car thefts.

Maneuvering the forces and means at our disposal, we are taking additional measures. In particular, we are creating special operational groups for intensifying the struggle against [car] thefts and the thefts of parts. We are trying to achieve greater activeness on the part of our duty details working in the street: The patrol and point-duty service, the state motor vehicle inspection, the extra-departmental guards, and the special medical service. We are also making use of some other possibilities. Hundreds of criminals, who have been engaged in this trade, have had criminal proceedings instituted against them.

[Question] And the thefts of state property? You see, quite a few of them are being perpetrated. . . .

[Answer] In spite of a noticeable reduction, these crimes have a widespread enough character. Moreover, more than 70 percent of the thefts of state and public property are perpetrated at unprotected projects.

Sometimes they simply strike the unconcern and a kind of imprudence on the part of officials who are responsible for the safety of the material values.

Practice shows that almost always the crimes that we talk about are the consequence of carelessness and violations of the established order. Let us say, a wage that was not paid can be left in an unlocked desk drawer. Or a sizable sum of money is put away in a safe, the safe is locked, but the key is left in full view, and not even pulled out of the key-hole.

Many thefts are committed in the warehouses and the living quarters of construction workers, where the protection of construction materials and equipment is carried out extremely poorly. Thefts of microcalculators on the premises of institutions and organizations have become more frequent. There have been crimes connected with the misappropriations of various units and assemblies of computer equipment.

There are also quite a few cases of unscrupulousness of managers with respect to drunkards, petty thieves, and their connivance, as well as their participation in the deception of buyers, the concealment of articles from sales, etc. At the same time, hardly fewer than 3,500 representations of investigators of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs in 1987 remained without answers concerning the measures taken in regard to the eradication of already exposed and known conditions promoting the perpetration of crimes.

[Question] What could you say about drug addiction, prostitution. . . . What is changing here?

[Answer] During the year, hundreds of criminals connected with narcotics had criminal proceedings instituted against them. There has been an increase in the number of drug addicts who have been held to account. The work in regard to the exposure of those who sell narcotics has been intensified. We regard their activity as especially dangerous and we assign prime importance to its suppression.

About black-marketeering and prostitution. More than 2,000 people have been held responsible in terms of administrative procedures for illegal dealings with foreigners. 199 prostitutes have been subjected to preventive registration. This anti-social contingent is noticeably poisoning the moral atmosphere in the center of the city. The danger of AIDS obligates us (and the changes introduced in legislation—make it possible) to conduct still more active work in this direction.

[Question] Please, more detail about the struggle with drunkenness and alcoholism. Now, if one is to judge by the mail, this question is acquiring new acuteness. There are no people who would doubt the necessity of that struggle. But the measures that are being applied here are beginning to meet with a rather rebuff. Some laugh about them, others are indignant, still others are simply convinced that these measures are bringing only negative results.

[Answer] Let us judge objectively. First of all, if you do not object, about what we are doing to overcome drunkenness in conformity with the powers and tasks that have been given to the militia.

In illustrating the volume of the work being conducted by the militia, I cannot but draw the attention of the readers of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA to the dimensions of the evil of the tenacious tradition. During the past year, 362,000 people in the city, and 110,000 in the oblast, were held responsible in terms of administrative procedure who were arrested in a state of drunkenness. It should be explained that this number includes the people who were arrested by the militia more than once. More than 9,000 people in the city and more than 2,000 in the oblast were punished for being drunk at their workplaces. Considerable work has been done in the struggle against moonshining: 784 moonshiners have had criminal proceedings instituted against them, 1,579 have been dealt with through administrative procedure. About 20,000 liters of home-distilled vodka and home-brewed beer, and 624 home-brewing apparatuses have been removed and destroyed (many of which, by the way, were manufactured in plant conditions). 4,336 people were held responsible for speculating in alcoholic beverages (including 254—in terms of criminal proceedings). 2,643 people were sent to a therapeutic and labor clinic for preventive treatment of alcoholism.

And now about the effectiveness of the measures that have been taken.

Beginning with the year 1985, there has been a slow reduction in the crimes committed by intoxicated people. The same trend is revealed by an analysis of the number of people arrested for appearing in a state of drunkenness in the streets and public places. There has been a reduction of the number of injuries and losses of work time in production related to drunkenness.

So that the measures that have been taken by the party and the government are working and are yielding results.

I can, however, agree that prohibitions and penalties are insufficient in the struggle against alcoholism. What is needed is an extensive ideological and social basis, a more energetic search for new approaches and new effective means for influencing those who are abusing alcoholic beverages.

[Question] Now, please, about something that affects literally every citizen of Leningrad—about traffic safety. As far as is known, the results thus far are no cause for joy. . . .

[Answer] Yes. There have been 6,378 traffic incidents in the city and oblast during the year. As a result of them, 660 people died and 6,870 people were injured. These are the figures. Moreover, there has been a deterioration

in the situation in the city itself—a 10 percent increase in the number of incidents. In the oblast, there has been some improvement of the situation.

[Question] In previous discussions, you talked about the fact that the organs of the militia are resolutely ridding themselves of unworthy people...

[Answer] Yes, we are making the highest demands on our staff members, which is what we are obligated to do by the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order, the Strengthening of the Protection of the Rights and Lawful Interests of Citizens." And it cannot be otherwise. The worker of the Leningrad militia is the continuer of its glorious traditions, a political fighter, and a representative of Soviet power. He must be morally and professionally reliable.

Of course, in the militia, too, people make mistakes. The conditions of work in our profession are not simple, frequently there are stressful situations. Some things can be understood and forgiven. But slovenliness, unsound ambitions, and especially abuses and violations of socialist legality cannot be tolerated. For these and other reasons, a significant number of staff members during the past year were dismissed from the organs of internal affairs. 47 persons from among the management staff at various levels, who failed to cope with their responsibilities, were dismissed from their posts. Our position in this question is and remains unchanged. A severe policy is justified and necessary here.

8970

Estonian Blames Stalinist Heritage for Nationalities Problems
18000263a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88 p 3

[Article under the "Let Us Take Counsel Together" rubric by M. Laurustin, sociologist, chief of Tartu State University Department of Journalism: "On the Problems of International Relations"]

[Excerpts] I am pleased to accept the invitation from SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA to take part in the discussion of nationality problems. I am convinced that their solution is of great significance to the success or failure of perestroika not only in Estonia but also in all the other national republics; that is, in our country as a whole. During the many years of the Personality Cult and the Stagnation, these problems (like many other objective difficulties) had been "swept under the rug," and objective discussion was possible only to the beat of drums, the sound of fanfares, and exultant exclamations in honor of the Friendship of Nations. And even now national problems are among the most painful and difficult topics for critical and sober reflection. Why is this so?

Probably because they conceal very profound, fundamental economic and political contradictions in the building of a socialist society in our country, and perhaps theoretical problems as well, which we today are still far from fully capable of grasping and solving. But we will never even learn to recognize and solve them if we remain at the everyday psychological level of discussion of "who does not like whom?" and "who is butting into whose line?". We are constantly confusing two important things: nationality as a property of an individual person (which, when applying for a passport, one can either acknowledge or not); and nationality as a phenomenon of social relations, that is, the contacts among national communities.

In practice it turns out that many allegedly national problems spring up not between nations, but in the sphere of interrelations between the republic and the central administrative departments. Quite often under the guise of protecting nationwide interests, attempts are made on the part of the central departments to allocate the resources of the republics—both natural and social resources—for their own departmental interests. And when the conflict of departmental and republic interests are further aggravated by the everyday competition among the consumers of material and social goods, we then come up against the "aggravation of national problems"—not at the fault of individual people, but by the fault of the imperfection of the economic and administrative mechanism. Conflicts among the people are merely a manifestation of more profound economic and other contradictions. The cardinal question may be solving the national problems, proceeding not from individual consumer interests, but from the interests of all the Soviet nations as a whole, as historically-established subjects. Only then can the socialist principles of free development and the flourishing and convergence of nations be realized. Every nation has the capacity to enrich the others through its unique historical experience; but only when it realizes the significance of this experience not only for itself, but as a component of the cultural heritage common to all mankind. However, having recognized this; having established its own culture and having received the conditions for its development—every nation as a whole assumes a responsibility to all mankind for the preservation of this heritage, and the right to defend it from being squandered, and from disintegration and destruction. This responsibility is internationalist in essence, however quite often it is manifested in strivings for cultural self-preservation. The problem of defending the viability of national cultures, especially the cultures of small nations which do not have broad ethnic expanse (or a large population base) and are therefore exceptionally sensitive to external conditions, have in contemporary conditions become just as urgent for mankind as the protection of the environment against pollution and an assiduous attitude toward natural resources. And whereas all-union departments have attempted to commence development of phosphorus deposits in Estonia or off-shore oil deposits along the Lithuanian littoral—without considering the

devastating effects of their planned actions on the fragile local ecological and social structures—it is incumbent on those who dwell along the Baltic Sea to assume the international duty, regardless of their nationality, to become the protectors of the centuries-old natural and cultural resources here, which belong to all mankind. And this would hardly be a display of local interests and nationalism, as the apologists for the departmental approach to the matter would like to portray such a position.

Each nation can most successfully fulfill its role as protector and multiplier of the natural resources of its own region for the benefit of the development of the entire multinational state, under the conditions of perestroika and glasnost, and with the aid of the levers of territorial economic accountability and self-management. Otherwise it would not be possible to develop precisely those forms of management, those kinds of production, and those methods and directions of spiritual rebirth which would most effectively take into consideration the local capabilities; which would permit not the squandering, but the growth of natural and social resources. But in celebrating the command style of leadership not only would the administration of the economy be strictly centralized, it would be subjected to standardization to the nth degree. That is exactly what has happened in the sphere of intellectual life. In art, vulgar-sociological criteria for evaluating the creativity of writers and artists have triumphed, which meant long lists of "forbidden names" and titles of works. In Estonia for example, in accordance with such lists, tens of thousands of volumes of literature were destroyed in the 1940's. In the union republics all this was connected with "instructions from Moscow," which unwittingly placed its somber imprint on the attitude of many nations toward the Russian people—although the losses to Russian culture from those very same orders were no less, and in some respects even more ruinous. But you see it is only now, when the criminal acts of the Stalin epoch are being ever more fully disclosed, that we are beginning to realize the enormous price which all the nations of the Soviet Union have paid for these lessons of history.

Whereas the first decade of Soviet power was truly marked by explosive growth of many-faceted forms of culture in all the major and minor languages; when in accordance with Lenin's precepts newspapers, schools, theaters and similar cultural institutions were established everywhere, in the native language of the national minorities—in the epoch of Stalinism, in practice there remained only an appearance of a community of equal nations, although the external attributes were preserved in the form of slogans and ritual measures. Thus, the national schools, publishing houses and clubs which existed in the 1920's in Leningrad, Moscow and in other major oblasts of Soviet Russia were closed to representatives of national minorities (to include, for example, Estonians and Latvians). And of course, the most horrible things happened to the people who were transported away from their native territories. But the "flourishing of

nations" and the "friendship of peoples" were proclaimed as before as the basic principle of the Stalinist nationality policy, and the successes of this policy were demonstrated by multitudes of reassuring declarations and triumphant reports. The Stalinist war with the "nationals" and "bourgeois nationalists" led, as did the war with the peasants, with the old "bourgeois" intelligentsiya and with the Leninist party and military cadres, to countless victims for all national cultures, and to the perversion of the principles of socialism in the area of national policy. It is impossible to comprehend and correct the many sore spots in national relations without taking into considering the living memory of these losses and injustices. At present to a certain extent one can only imagine the degree to which the Stalinist national policy "from a position of strength" was purposefully designed to incite national enmity and distrust in national cadres, in order to strengthen the dictatorial power of the central bureaucracy in the localities. The sad results of this policy make themselves known in the form of mutual fears and nationalist prejudices. Traces of Stalinism are also manifested in the ease with which malicious-sounding political labels of "nationalism" enter the lexicon, and are attached to attempts to substantiate and defend the just economic and cultural interests of the union republics. These old labels serve the bureaucracy well in the new conditions as well, since they can be used to justify any arbitrary actions, any departmental pressure, and thereby successfully apply the brakes to the development of glasnost and democratic forms of self-administration. The situation is complicated by the fact that these very same stereotypes and fears of Stalin's times are skillfully utilized by the groups of actual nationalists who are hostile to socialism, and who are prepared to resort to any means to undermine the faith of the indigenous population to the policy of perestroika.

What sort of practical way out of this complex situation could there be? Obviously one of the main tasks could be combining the forces of all supporters of perestroika, regardless of their national origins, as a genuine counter-force to the braking efforts of the local and central bureaucracies, in favor of democratic transformations in economic and national policies. At the same time we should get together and discuss just what truly democratic principles should be in the relationships between nations. For example—the problem of representation in elections or in bringing supervisory cadres up to strength are not as simple as they might seem to those who are fond of arithmetic: divide, they say, the seats in proportion to national criteria, and everything will be all right... But you see among the non-Estonian part of the populace, according to data from sociological surveys, no more than one-third of those who were born and grew up here are truly interested in preserving and multiplying the natural wealth and cultural uniqueness of our republic for their children and their descendants. And the rest change their dwelling-places and their jobs according to the principle of "fish look for deeper waters, and people for where it is better." After all, a migrant is not a nation.

Overcoming the psychology of a temporary user among a certain part of our national milieu requires the concerted efforts of the best representatives of the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and people of other nationalities, who live in the republic. You see, the "migrant" psychology is one of the liveliest sources of national conflicts on the everyday level; and moreover, it is favorable soil for chauvinism, since it does not consider it necessary to join in the cultural life of the local populace. Perhaps as a counterbalance, it would be appropriate to organize and assimilate societies and clubs of Friends of Estonian Culture among the other ethnic groups who live in the republic. Mutual enrichment of culture is impossible without developing the best traditions of one's own culture—not only the Estonian and Russian cultures, but also the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Lithuanian or Armenian cultures. Representatives of the Estonian intelligentsiya have already expressed their thoughts on the fact that it is necessary to make it possible for the children of all more or less major national minorities living in Estonia to converse in their own native language. Setting up national centers (on the model of Land Societies), societies, and schools for the various groups of the non-indigenous population would be a step toward renewing the traditions of true internationalism of the first post-revolutionary decade. Estonia could here provide an example to the other republics and to the large cities with multinational populations.

Developing direct multilateral contacts with other nations and with other republics is also a promising, but unfortunately not very well-developed trend in internationalization of economic and cultural life. You see to this day, if one does not count festivals and ostentatious displays, such contacts are very fortuitous. Why do Estonian newspapers, radio and TV not have their own correspondents in other republics? Why do we have to get information about them through an intermediary, "second hand"? Why has the training of interpreters not been organized? Many such questions arise, as soon as we begin to discuss the practical aspects of national relationships on the scale of the republic or the country as a whole.

And of course it is time to seriously undertake the study of the way of life, material and intellectual needs, vital problems and value orientation of all the basic groups of the non-Estonian populace. A certain amount of fragmentary data is available to sociologists, and not long ago quite extensive and representative research was begun on the cultural needs and informational attractiveness of the Russian-speaking populace. But thus far there is no exhaustive answer to the questions: Who are you, you representatives of other peoples who live in Estonia; what do you live on; what are you trying to achieve? And in order to establish sensible relations with one another, we must not only understand one another, we must also come to know ourselves better.

09006

Estonian Migration Patterns Effect Nationalities Relations

18000263b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by A. Podvezko: "Migration"]

[Text] There have been an increasing number of press articles in recent times, dedicated to problems of relations among the nationalities in the republic. In many of them, one of the principal factors aggravating these relations is acknowledged to be unsubstantiated inter-republic migration of the populace. What does this process consist of, and what sort of problems are connected with it?

We invite the readers' attention to the materials prepared by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA Correspondent A. Podvezko, based on his meetings with experts on demography and sociology and other specialists.

A Fish Looks for Where It's Deeper...

"And a man, where it's better." Such is the basic law of migration. (In spite of the fact that everyone, of course, has his own particular motives.) And people come in by land, sea and air in search of their fortune. People who stay in one place: Do not rush to judge those travelers who have left their native region. After all, it's not always their fault that they were unable to find their niche at home. And at times this is a misfortune. Moreover, if people had not set sail, if they had not traveled, there would not be an America or an Australia today; nor would we have our Siberia, and much more besides. Migration is a method of intercourse for mankind. It is true too, that there are various kinds of intercourse, and it is not always pleasant.

Our country is a union of republics. All of them differ in terms of conditions, appearance, and way of life. In folk wisdom the Baltic Littoral is singled out for its better standard of living (and not without reason): here the selection of goods is better in the stores; the people are more polite; the streets are clean; and one can find work; and well, as far as housing is concerned, you'll make out somehow...

People come here because of enticing stories from relatives and acquaintances, or from manpower recruiters; or simply out of romantic notions.

Where Do They Come From?

One should not think of the migration as if it were a Brownian Movement, or chaotic molecular motion; or that people are shuttling to and fro throughout the country, wherever they wish... It is taking place along strictly defined directions. Every city and region has its own steady migrational patterns. In Estonia such patterns have long been associated with the Northwest region, whose share of the total influx of people coming

into the republic comprises 31 percent; with the Ukraine (19 percent); with the Central Region of the RSFSR (16); with Belorussia (5.0); and with Latvia (3.0 percent).

The dynamic of this process is such, that to the extent that manpower reserves in these regions are exhausted, migration brings in new groups. And since the 1970's, the Volga Basin and the North Caucasus were added to the regions cited above. Moreover (and this is very important, as is explained below), the people from these specific regions adapt better to Estonia.

How Many?

According to data from the ESSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems, tens of thousands of people arrive in the republic (that is, register) and depart every year. The migration balance—the arithmetic difference between those arriving and those departing—amounted to 7,865 persons in 1986, for example.

The number, it would seem, is not large for the republic's 1.5-million population. But one must take into consideration that the migration is aimed principally at certain cities and regions. And this gives birth to a multitude of problems.

If one speaks of the dynamics of the migration process, demographic experts believe that it is becoming more and more stable. Thus the migration balance for Tallinn, and this example is sufficiently indicative for the republic as a whole, has been steadily decreasing since the 1960's, in spite of peaks and valleys in certain years. (K. Katus and L. Sakkeus, "Demograficheskiye i migrationnyye aspekty vospriyvoda gorodskogo nasele-niya" [Demographic and Migrational Aspects of the Reproduction of the Urban Populace], Tallinn, Valgus, 1986.)

For the past three years the migration balance for the republic has been increasing. But such a brief period does not permit the determination whether this is a regular peak after which a valley will occur, or whether it is a stable trend for growth. The moreso since in the near future, the effects of the decree, "On Measures for Increasing Control Over the Registration of Citizens in the Estonian SSR," recently adopted by the ESSR Council of Ministers and the republic trade union council will be felt.

Who?

Frequently inter-republic migration is represented as organized recruitment of manpower from beyond the Estonian republic. Such a perception, if it corresponded with reality several decades ago, has today become obsolete.

Thus, in 1986 only 28 percent of those arriving in the republic had registered with the permission of the ispolkoms and the ESSR Council of Ministers. This was

the organized migration. Of the remainder, some stay with relatives, others have exchanged living quarters, and so on. Thus, "family" migration—and this stipulation is very important to the regulation of the migration process—occupies an ever-increasing position in it.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of statistical data does not permit drawing a clear and complete picture, with respect to the professional makeup of those arriving and departing, their educational and cultural level, and their way of life here in the republic.

Nevertheless, in scientific literature, and hence in commentary as well, one can find statements that the "quality of the migrants" to Estonia is declining. Let us try to figure out the basis for such assertions.

Let us begin with the demographic aspect. About 80 percent of those arriving in the republic are able-bodied workers. Moreover, the majority of them are young people. But the increase in "family" migration mentioned above is leading to an increase in the proportion of children and pensioners in the overall influx; that is, the percentage of able-bodied workers is decreasing.

And there is still another important figure which characterizes the quality of the migration: about 10 percent of those arriving in the republic every year consists of citizens who, although they are able-bodied workers, do not have jobs. However, one should not come to the conclusion that these people are all rejects, or so-called "lumpen." This number also includes the wives of military personnel, for whom it is difficult to find work, as well as privileged pensioners, and certain other categories of people. This is an unwarranted reserve of labor resources. Increasing their numbers is, of course, an unfavorable trend for the republic's economy.

As far as the educational level is concerned, according to data acquired as a result of sociological research conducted by the Institute of Party History at the Estonian CP Central Committee, among those arriving in the republic in the course of the last ten years, it has been rather high. For example, among this category of arrivals, people with incomplete secondary education comprised 12 percent of those interviewed, as compared with 24 percent among the Estonian population; those with higher education comprise, respectively, 22 and 13 percent. This is explained first of all by the fact that on the whole those arriving are young people, who have as a minimum a secondary education.

Conclusions about other qualities of the migration—the professional and cultural level of those arriving—can be made only on the basis of specific facts and figures, with a sufficient proportion of conditionality.

In a situation in which the demand for workers exceeds the supply, and the jobseekers are predominantly from the local populace, it is precisely in the unskilled workforce that a shortage develops. Consequently, the reverse is true among the people arriving in the republic.

To a certain extent this conclusion is supported by the following figure: 24 percent of the people arriving formerly lived in rural areas. And so, to the extent that the migration is aimed basically at the cities, the majority of them find themselves in the position of low-skilled workers.

Here are some examples. Out of 135 persons taken on in accordance with the limits at the Estonian Fishing Fleet Repair Production Association in 1985, only 50 possessed ship-repairing skills. At the Dvigatel Plant, of the 300 people accepted in 1985 and 1986 in accordance with the limits, only 70 were basic production workers.

But at the same time one must not forget that the proportion of "limitchiks" in the overall influx to the republic amounts to less than one-third. And it would hardly be correct to extrapolate the judgments cited above to all those arriving in the republic.

But, I repeat, these are simply judgments and individual cases, and there is as yet no objective and clear picture of the quality of the migration.

"Superfluous Men"

It is time to say a few words about the "unsubstantiated character" of the migration, and of what it consists. In my view such an expression is inaccurate. All phenomena, both in nature and in society, are substantiated. And migration is no exception. In particular, it is conditioned by the extensive method of management which until recent times was completely predominant in our economy.

Enterprises constantly under the Damoclean sword of increasing production plans utilized the simplest method of developing production—the creation of new workplaces—which required hiring additional manpower.

Enterprises with a large proportion of manual, low-skilled labor and with poor working conditions found themselves in a much more complicated situation, and were forced to continually increase that proportion. The only real alternative for their existence was the hiring of "fresh" manpower. Thus the enterprises carried out the role of "suction pumps" and absorbed the workforce in the republic.

But the most important thing is that this process of extensive development of industry was not tied in with the development of the urban infrastructure. And this has aggravated many social problems.

The immigrants objectively found themselves in the position of "superfluous men," for whom the cities found it more difficult every year to furnish housing, transportation, everyday services, and so on, and they know this feeling well.

Scholars at the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute have determined that industrial enterprises differ in terms of the level of prestige, which depends upon their actual working and living conditions. Immigrants work, as a rule, in the worst conditions and at the less prestigious enterprises than the local populace (not necessarily Estonian) does. And they cannot rise higher for a long time, since they are "tied up" by the official registration of residence; and if a "limitchik," by the need to acquire an apartment or simply by the lack of friends who could give them a recommendation.

Living in conditions far worse (for at least the first five years, or until acquiring an apartment) than those of the local inhabitants, a person cannot get into line for a long time if only because he is—an immigrant. (But there is also an opposite side to such an injustice: even if one gets on the list for an apartment, one remains far behind the local residents, who have a greater right to receive an apartment.)

Not knowing the language, history, or culture of the Estonian people, for a long time the immigrant feels like an alien in the republic. For the Estonians, in turn, they are—migrants, who do not understand the problems, who disturb the indigenous populace...

A Disappearing Nation?

One such problem is the decline in the proportion of the native citizens in the republic's population. In 1959 Estonians comprised 75 percent of the republic's population. In 1979, the figure was already 64 percent; and in 1986 about 61. Such are the statistics.

From this the conclusion is frequently drawn that the reason for such a process is the large artificial influx of population from without. This is not entirely so.

Far more "guilt" here is due to the demographic laws, in accordance with which every nation goes through a stage of demographic explosion, and then "gets old." And the latter phenomenon has been taking place among the Estonian people over the course of several decades. Therefore today, in spite of the fact that the intensiveness of the birth rate (the number of children a woman has) among the Estonians is one of the highest in Europe, the natural growth of the indigenous populace fluctuates around zero.

In 1986 the natural growth of the republic's entire population amounted to 6,120 persons. This is close to the "migrational"—the balance of migration—growth (7,863). If one takes into consideration the fact that the

natural growth took place by virtue of only one-third of the population (the non-indigenous citizens), the significance of the demographic factor in this question becomes clear.

In the prognosis, the opinions of the scholars vary. Certain of them believe that after the year 2000, when the non-Estonian population—which is today rather young—starts to age and its growth declines significantly (and possibly even becomes negative), then EVEN IF THE MIGRATION RATE DOES NOT DECLINE, the proportion of the indigenous population of the republic will begin to increase if only due to the fact that in any case they will be dying at a much slower rate than now.

It would seem to be so simple: just wait, and the problem will solve itself; there's no reason to break your lance right now. But in addition to the quantitative problem there is also a qualitative aspect, which appears to be more significant than the former. It is a question of the so-called process of "national erosion." This term has in mind the loss of Estonians, under the influence of intensive international intercourse, of their own national attributes.

And Who in the World are You?

The Institute of Party History at the Estonian CP Central Committee has carried out research under the supervision of K. Khaav, which also touched upon questions of relations among the nationalities in the republic. Here is how the representatives of the various nationalities surveyed evaluated the interrelations: good, 4.0 percent of the Estonians and 17 percent of non-Estonians; unsatisfactory, 59 and 10 percent, respectively.

Why is there so much variance in the evaluation of national relationships in the republic by Estonians and non-Estonians?

One can find the answer in the results of that very same research. It lies in different national settings and national mentality, expressed if you will in the peculiarities of their way of life and behavior.

This was vividly displayed in the definition by the various nationalities of their concept of their native land. For most of the Estonians, this was the republic in which they live. But most of the non-Estonians consider the Soviet Union to be their native land.

Seventy-two percent of the Estonians identify themselves for the most part with their own nation rather than the Soviet people or even with the inhabitants of the republic; that is, they prefer ethnic identification to the civic. And among non-Estonians only 14 percent of those surveyed ascribe to such an opinion.

Naturally, a majority of the Estonians also associate their future with the Estonian SSR, while at the same time for 46 percent of those surveyed among the non-indigenous population in the republic, they don't care where they live and work.

Or, here is still another characteristic feature of national behavior. The nationality of their neighbors is important for two-fifths of the Estonians surveyed and for only 3.0 percent of the Russians.

At the same time both this and other nations, if one judges by the results of the very same sociological research, are sufficiently objective in their judgments about one another: the self-appraisal of the nations coincided with the characteristics given for it by representatives of other nations.

But quite often such national settings or peculiarities of national behavior are taken, on the one hand, for nationalism, and on the other, for cosmopolitanism (I do not have in mind obvious manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, and so on).

What is good and what is bad is clear only in children's books. But how is one to distinguish in reality where there is a truly national character trait, and where there is a reaction in response to mistakes in national policy? I will not attempt to answer right now. But one thing is indisputable: objective peculiarities must be taken into consideration.

But apart from objective reasons which hinder the development of relations among the nations in the republic, there are also the subjective. Among these are insufficient knowledge of the language, culture and history of another nationality. First and foremost, of course, is language.

And the Russian part of the populace, the proportion of which amounts to nearly 30 percent, is greatly in arrears here. According to statistical data, in 1970 only 14 percent of the Russians living in Estonia were freely conversant in the Estonian language. And in 1979 it was only 13 percent. According to results of research by the Institute of Party History, today 46 percent of the Russians have not mastered Estonian to the extent necessary for personal contact. By comparison, the corresponding proportion among the Estonians is 8.0 percent.

Thus an Estonian is faced with the choice: either to adapt oneself to the manner of behavior of representatives of another nationality, which does not understand his peculiarities and consequently does not acknowledge them, or to remain aloof from them.

The latter is what we are observing at the present time: a differentiation is taking place with respect to national attributes in the working collectives... It is not individual people in buses and stores that are the subject of national

relations; more and more it is the collectives and departments; that is, the political significance of the problem is becoming increasingly intense.

Instead of a Resume

The transition to an intensive economy permits, finally, to reduce the level of migration in the country and to make it less problematical. On the other hand, the increased attention which is being devoted to the social sphere today permits one to hope that the gap in the rate of development of the social infrastructure and industry will be eliminated.

Without even mentioning the fact that a significant amount of time will be required to carry out these plans, the changes outlined are nevertheless only the prerequisite for solving the national question. And how is it to be resolved?

There are a mass of problems here. Well, for example, if one follows the path of development of mono-national labor collectives (admitting the expediency of that which already exists) or, on the other hand, proceeding to break down organizational barriers, naturally and not by the "cavalry attack" method but by the development of relations among the nationalities. Then at the same time how would one deal with the objective, existing national differences in mentality and behavior?

And there is also a mass of opinions. It is true, the matter is nonetheless making progress. A plan has been worked out for measures to develop bilingualism. On the initiative of the Estonian CP Central Committee working groups have been set up to study the problem from various aspects. The results of their activities must be subjected to the widest possible examination.

09006

TuSSR KGB Chief, Other Officials Rapped for Housing Improprieties

18300182 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by V. Kuleshov: "The Iron Fortresses Remain Impregnable"]

[Text] The article "Mansion in the Alley" (IZVESTIYA No 77, 1987), talked about flagrant violations of housing law by certain party and economic managers—mostly now removed from their posts—in Turkmenia. All year long the editors continued to receive letters from readers asking, "What happened afterwards?" But we could not give a thorough answer because there had been no official report from the republic.

Recently a letter finally arrived from A. Khodzhamuradov, Chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers. He reported that five families had left their mansions in

Tashauz and another had moved in with relatives in Kalinin. Several mansions in Ashkhabad were made into public buildings after the former owners left.

At present, A. Khodzhamuradov reports, the construction of mansions at state expense has stopped, and most of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz hotels have been converted to medical and preschool institutions. The Council of Ministers has ordered ministries and departments to make their hotels into preventive health centers and vacation lodges for employees of the enterprises and organizations.

Such a business-like answer should certainly satisfy any reader. But the letter says that 1,700 hospital beds have already been set up in the former kolkhoz and sovkhoz hotels, and nursery schools and Pioneer camps for 1,200 children have been organized.

We should note in passing that the so-called departmental hotels, houses for visitors, hunters lodges, and simple one-family mansions can also be found in republics besides Turkmenia. But what a scale this spontaneous construction has reached in this republic, if the beds and places for children already run into the thousands.

Another aspect is that, as A. Khodzhamuradov reports, the Tashauz City peoples court has refused to order eight families to move out of their mansions.

"Although he was no longer procurator of Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon when he moved from Iolotani," I read in a letter sent to the IZVESTIYA correspondents office, "contrary to housing laws he left his stylish apartment to his married sister, who already had housing. When he went from Takhta-Bazar to Kushka A. Bekmuradov left a well-furnished home to members of his family, and then another when he moved from Kushka to Turkmen-Kala."

The inspection conducted by the Mary Oblast party committee confirmed the facts in this letter. Moreover it explained something else: "While procurator of Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon," quoting the words of the report, "A. Bekmuradov showed immoderation by remodeling his apartment at a cost to the state of 5,637 rubles. For a long time he rented two apartments at once, but did not pay the rent on one of them, in Kushka, for several years, so he owed the state more than 280 rubles. He did everything possible to have his son, who had worked 8 months as a mechanic at an oil depot, admitted to the party, and as soon as he was admitted he transferred him to be accountable secretary of the oblast environmental protection society."

And so that is how it goes: some bathe in luxuries and throw money around because they are rich, while others can do it because they have power and high positions. But the result is fundamentally the same.

"The point is," R. Safronov, former employee of the Ashkhabad Oblast Komsomol committee and now a student at the Higher Komsomol School of the Komsomol Central Committee, reflects in his letter about this, "that our picture of the true value of human achievements has been overturned. That is why we ashamedly use the word 'immoderation' for the flagrant arrogance and aristocratism of those who are pushing for power to get its privileges. But this is not immoderation. It is a challenge to the new way being established in our country, to genuine order and social justice. And even now, when IZVESTIYA has published the article 'Mansion in the Alley' which showed everyone the aristocratic ways of the local leaders, most of them are silently waiting it out, digging in in their fortress-like buildings, waiting for a return to the old days."

"But there is no law," U. Shamuratov, former secretary in charge of ideology for the Tashauz Oblast party committee, writes brazenly to IZVESTIYA, "that lets people be moved out of their housing!"

"For them the conscience never existed," said K. Bayudzhanova, secretary of the party obkom, to this. "They did not push their way into power just to give up the advantages they had won."

They now want to live within the law. But once they believed that when they had reached a certain level, by any means, they could sit back and watch their money grow, do nothing and float along easily with the privileges of power. I am not speaking of Tashauz only, for there are many such cases in Ashkhabad. Even today there is a story going around there about how when N. Orazmukhamedov took power as Chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, rush construction began in the very center of the city. It was not a multi-apartment building where entirely adequate housing could have been given to him and to the multiple-child families of whom there are well over a thousand in Ashkhabad. No, what they started was construction of a two-story mansion, and large organizations—Turkmengosproyekt and Turkmentsentrostroy—were enlisted in the work. Brick, concrete, expensive ornamental parquet, and hundreds of thousands of rubles went for this brilliant home, which is so spacious that several rayon organizations are now housed there without crowding or interference.

N. Orazmukhamedov was unlucky, but his successor Ch. Karryyev, who also began his term as Chairman by building a mansion, was much more successful. His building had four apartments, but what a place! Just take the fence. It was half of cast iron, half of decorative stone—a regular work of art. The mansion, built by the highest standards, could have embellished the center of the city and housed not only a children's combine for 320 children but even something more substantial. But who lives there?—three rather small families, those of Ch. Karryyev, who is now chairman of the republic State

Committee for Prices, P. Annaorasov, the former first secretary of the Ashkhabad Oblast party committee, and A. Boyko, chairman of the TuSSR KGB.

At the housing departments of Proletarskiy and Sovetskiy rayons of the city I was given a long list of republic-level leaders. The list contained about 50 families whose housing space greatly exceeds all reasonable limits. But what is strange is that among these names there were no production leaders, veterans of war and labor, or hero-mothers with large families. It was as if they did not exist at all in Ashkhabad, as if all waiting lines for preferential receipt of housing had dissipated.

But in fact about 400 hero-mothers today are still living in temporary quarters or impossibly overcrowded apartments, vainly waiting for their new housing to come through. In a 10 November 1944 decree of the USSR Council of Peoples Commissars I read: "Order the councils of peoples commissars of the Union and autonomous republics, ispolkoms, and also departments to allocate at least 10 percent of the new housing resources in the cities each year to especially needy mothers with large families and breast-feeding mothers."

No one has ever overturned this decision, but unfortunately, no one today remembers it either. Hero-mothers and breast-feeding mothers, unfortunately, are not receiving full-standard new housing. The waiting line for war veterans is slowly shortening; there are still about 150 of them in Ashkhabad. Perhaps not much construction is carried on? No, construction there is done quickly and well. Suffice it to look at building at No 30, Kalinin Street, with its improved apartment layout. The disturbing thing is: why was the housing in this fine building given to people who already had space in conformity with housing law, while none went to war veterans or mothers with large families? The lists of residents show mainly ministers and employees of the republic Council of Ministers, that is, once again people with power.

Of course, ministers too want to set things up for themselves and live better. But if we remember that the waiting line for housing in Ashkhabad is 10,000 long, you cannot help but think: should one live flamboyantly in such a situation? And it would not hurt the gospolkom to remember that with such a shortage the distribution of every square meter of housing, not to mention every apartment, should be done with utmost responsibility. On the other hand, we can also understand city council representative A. Bayramov: you just don't fight ministers and other officials. Aman Ovezovich has plenty to do without that. Right now, for example, he is puzzling over how to shorten the waiting lines for nursery schools and day care centers. For if the children of the city are to be placed according to norms, at least 30,000 more places in nursery schools will have to be created. But not even half of them can be expected in the coming months and years. Of course, it would be good to open up the mansions—every one could be a whole nursery school.

"Then why don't you put them there?" I asked A. Sayramov.

"The people are not leaving," he said with a sign of resignation. "You have no legal basis to move us from our mansions into apartments, they tell me. And what kind of basis do you want, we say, if mothers need to work but have to sit home with their children. I tell them, you are living two or three people in a hundred square meters. Why do you need so much?"

We cannot help but recall here Durdyyev, the chief bookkeeper from Krasnyy Oktjabr, who also did not need so many millions. Yet he yearned to steadily increase his holdings—money is power. But certainly those who considered their positions and careers to be personal achievements knew that according to the laws of our communal life power lies elsewhere—in work, improving people's lives, and not drawing benefits from one's high position. What kind of law could justify the astounding difference in standards of living which has come about, frankly speaking, because of their incompetent leadership. And isn't this difference one of the reasons for the activation of nationalist attitudes which has been reported in the press recently?

"They have running water, plumbing, and even some saunas," I read in a letter from the Shadzhanov family of Firyuza. "Yet these gentlemen live here only 3 months or so. But they live on such a scale: some of them have watchdogs who live better than many citizens of Firyuza. What is the purpose of this luxury? Why not give all these houses to the children of the workers of Ashkhabad or to children's homes located in the republic?"

We want to stress one more time: no one is planning to dispute the decision of the Tashauz City peoples court which recognized the legal right of the eight families to their mansions. The question is one of moral right. Both we, and apparently the readers of the newspaper, are capable of understanding the position of the court. But how can we understand the owners of the mansions? And not just in Tashauz.

11176

New TuSSR Fund to Tackle Juvenile Health, Labor, Social Problems
18300174 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 2 Mar 88 p 1

[Turkmeninform report: "In the Name of Childhood: Charter Conference of the Turkmen Republic Department of the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin"]

[Excerpts] A speech on the basic directions in the activity of the Turkmen republic department of the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin was presented by the chairman of its organizational committee, editor-in-chief of the journal KORPE (Youngster) and people's writer of Turkmenistan Kayum Tangrykuliyev.

The speaker developed his idea using examples of the fact that a significant portion of our republic's population uses water from open reservoirs and does not have sewers, and this facilitates the spread of gastrointestinal and other dangerous diseases. More decisive and continuous measures are needed for the creation of normal sanitary and hygienic conditions in the rayon republics which are in need of them. This problem goes far beyond the framework of economics. For many years we have been proud of the fact that we have created all-girl brigades of machine operators. However, medical science has already proven that our girls are paying a high price for mastering male professions. But go out into the cotton fields during the peak of the harvest time. Whom will you find there? Women and children. And where are the men? They are in the kolkhoz offices, working in warehouses and stores.

It has been 2 years since the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee has begun the struggle for excusing student youth from cotton field duty. There have been definite changes. The VUZ students can now study in peace. But we must go farther. The school children belong at their desks, not in the fields. Here again, the interests of the current moment gain the upper hand. The drafting of students for so-called "production practice" is regulated by appropriate directives, and there are many conditions such as "No more than 2 weeks," "At the decision of the local Soviets..." But these are already ignored by individual farm managers. Due to the endless diversion of school children to agricultural work, we have already lost so many talented and competent engineers that they would long ago have solved all of our problems with field work. For this we need only one thing: to free the children from numbing manual labor during the golden time of their life and to direct their energy into the channel of creative labor.

The low level of domestic culture and social provision, particularly in rural areas, is the reason for the high infant mortality in the republic. The speaker also analyzed the medical aspect of the problem. According to the calculations, only by 1992 will Turkmenistan reach the average union standard for provision by pediatricians. At the same time, there are cases at the Turkmen State Medical Institute in which students with poor knowledge have been directed to the pediatrics department. This is a scandalous practice. There is a Scientific-Research Institute for Protecting the Health of Mother and Child in our republic. Considerable work is performed here. Specifically, four scientific directions have been developed for the first time in the country. However, despite the difficult situation with children's health protection, it remains as before a second category institute. Moreover, in the last 7 years, 40 out of 110 workers have been laid off. Is this prudent if the institute already has a shortage of departments dealing with the most important directions for our region: pediatric surgery, gynecology, and medical genetics. We believe, on the contrary, that it would be expedient to expand the scientific developments. Some of the most important directions may be financed by our fund.

The family is the chief guardian of the child's health, his normal development, and his full value in all respects. The speaker devoted much attention to this topic, including also the strength of the family and its role in moral upbringing and protection. With a sense of alarm and concern, he presented the following statistical data to the delegates. For every 31,500 marriages in the republic in 1987 there were 4,900 divorces. The custom of bride-money, which is detrimental to the family, is still practiced. The result of bride-money is marriages between relatives. Understandably, it is easier to make a deal among one's own people. Think about it: of the total number of marriages in the republic, over a third are between relatives. And what does this lead to? Various types of congenital disabilities—deafness, blindness, and feeble-mindedness occur 5-6 times more often, specifically in marriages between relatives.

The next misfortune, as strange as it may sound, is too many children. It too conceals a reason for infant mortality and congenital defects. As medical science has proven, giving birth every year has an extremely negative effect both on the children and on the mothers themselves. In Ashkhabad at the Scientific-Research Institute for the Protection of the Health of Mother and Child, the country's first special family planning center has been established. This is good, but even it cannot do much.

The problems we have listed testify to the fact that today an acute shortage is evident in educational work. We must publish more special literature in the Turkmen language and see that it gets to the rural areas, to the heartland. Lecturers from the Znaniye Society must illuminate these topics more broadly.

Alcoholism and drug addiction are problems which acutely face our families and sorely hit upon the life and fate of the children. We are currently conducting a public and open struggle against these phenomena, and we must wage it until we achieve complete victory. But what can we do with the others, with those who in full consciousness and in their right minds voluntarily reject their children. And the motive here is all the same: the unwillingness to part with egotistical benefits in the name of the child. A certain citizen Berdyyeva from Khauzkhan gave up her four sons to the Tedzhenskiy Children's Home because her new husband told her to do so. Could it be that this woman hopes to build her happiness on the unhappiness of her own children? And, unfortunately, such cases are not singular. In the last 3 years the Ashkhabad Children's Home has received 161 infants. Of these, 32 were given up by the parents, 20 by single mothers, and 92 were abandoned. The number of real orphans is the smallest—17. Mothers give up their children voluntarily, seeing in them merely an unwanted burden. This distortion of values is very dangerous.

One of the testimonies to the constant concern of our state for children deprived of motherly love has been the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted in 1985 and entitled

"On measures for radically improving the upbringing, education and material provision of orphan children and children left without parental support". This measure was very timely. After all, the years of stagnation have also left their imprint here. As soon as glasnost entered our lives, we learned from the press what is going on behind the walls of some of the children's homes, boarding schools and specialized schools. There was abuse, misappropriation and cruelty—and this in relation to children, who are a thousand times more in need of tenderness, kindness, sensitivity and attention by all the personnel.

At the present time in the republic there are 4 children's homes, a boarding school for orphan children, 13 boarding schools for mentally and physically handicapped children, 2 sanatorium-forest schools, a special school for children requiring special educational conditions, and 17 general education boarding schools. As you can see, the number is impressive. And the party organs and republic government give constant attention to them. Many funds are being allocated, the nutritional standards are being improved, as is the clothing and furniture provision. Construction is in progress.

There are many changes being made for the better. But what is the fate of the orphan children after they enter independent life? How do they do in schools for working youth and in vocational-technical schools, organization of students of secondary educational institutions and VUZes? How do they work in the labor collectives? Who takes part in their fate when they are found one-to-one with life? Today there are few, very few, answers to these questions, since they are not yet within our field of vision. And we believe that this direction of work must become one of the most current ones in the operation of the fund.

12322

USSR Academy of Sciences Member on Uzbek Family Planning, Employment Issues

18300225 [Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 6 March 1988 carries on page 2 an 1800-word article entitled "The Light and Shade of One Question," by USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member E. Yusupov. The author stresses the many economic, cultural, and political advances of Central Asia which have been achieved with the help of the Russian people. Nationalist and chauvinist manifestations are condemned, and the importance of Russian language education in Central Asia is underscored.

Addressing the current debate over the Central Asian population explosion and the concept of family planning, Yusupov states that "nowhere has anyone put the limiting of the demographic process by means of administrative measures on the agenda. The uproar created in this regard is without foundation. Families with many children have always been honored in our society. But

there are several issues here which we must resolve intelligently, with a view to the future." According to the author, Uzbekistan's current population of just under 20 million is projected to reach 34 million by the year 2010.

Yusupov also touches upon the issue of employment in Uzbekistan. Noting that the problem has acquired great significance in the republic, he claims that Uzbekistan presently has almost 600,000 "able-bodied people who are not engaged in labor" (a figure of "more than 14,000" is given for Bostanlykskiy Rayon). Among the causes of this are said to be the introduction of khozraschet, as well as the family and brigade contract system, which are reducing the demand for labor in both industry and agriculture.

Economic Conditions Demand Family Planning In Uzbekistan

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 13 February 1988 carries on page 2 a 1100-word article by I. Katanov, docent in the Political Economy Department at the Tashkent Electrotechnical Institute of Communications and candidate in economic sciences, on the need for family planning in Uzbekistan. According to the article, a 1978 Tashkent State University study revealed that only 1.8 percent of Uzbek women aged 18 to 47 considered a family with 2 or 3 children to be "ideal"; 40 percent considered the ideal family to be one with 6 to 10 children. The study supports earlier research showing that the birth rate tends to drop as the standard of living increases. The Tashkent State University research also showed that among women who did wish to limit the size of their families, very little was known about methods of birth control. The author blames this on the lack of sex education in Uzbekistan, especially in rural areas. Katanov writes that large families place a special economic burden on parents, and that the republic's cultural-consumer services cannot keep up with the birth rate. "If this chain continues, it is becoming apparent, industry will demand the means to create more new jobs. It turns out that the demographic situation is nudging the republic's economy toward an extensive path of development. This in no way agrees with the course toward intensification, the emphasis on the achievements of scientific-technical progress, and the transfer to cost-accounting and self-financing, which are forcing factories to limit the number of workers." Katanov concludes with the observation that "the situation demands the planning of family development, taking into account the educational and social situation of the parents, the economic capabilities of various regions, etc."

General Disrespect For Kazakh Language In Mangyshlak Oblast

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 15 January 1988 carries on page 2 an 800-word article by Tazinazar Shadyqulov, published under the rubric "Thoughts To Share," entitled "A Few Words

on Our Behalf." The article condemns oblast and national party authorities for a general disrespect for Kazakh language use in Mangyshlak Oblast, in spite of official promises to promote bilingualism.

Shadyqulov complains specifically of signs, placards, and labels in Russian, of failure by propaganda and other official organizations to promote Kazakh in any way, such as making Kazakh-language papers and other publications available at propaganda information centers, and of only one Kazakh middle school (to serve 40,000 Kazakhs out of a total population of 150,000) in Shevchenko City. Shadyqulov quotes party leader Kolbin to the effect that disrespect for a people's language is disrespect for that people itself, and makes it clear that this is what he sees taking place.

Unavailability Of Kazakh-Language Books Deplored

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 8 January 1988 carries on pages 14-15 a 2,600-word article by Nurgali Orazov, published under the rubric "Questions To Look Into," entitled "The Path Starting at the Bookshop." The article focuses on the Kazakh "Oner" (arts) press, whose books are all but unobtainable even in the one Alma-Ata shop specializing in arts books.

The reason, according to Orazov, is above all the fact that the state book trade and consumer sales system simply ignore the products of the press, or places orders for them in small numbers since "Oner" press books "do not move." However, when the author visited the Alma-Ata "Arts" bookstore, he saw virtually no books from the press, although there were large stocks of Russian issues. Certainly, Orazov writes, there were no great piles of unsold books, and those books which were available were only the most recent issues.

Another problem, Orazov complains, is a lack of cooperation or even connection with the republic Ministry of Culture, which the press is supposed to be serving. As a result, important cultural books which could be supported by the ministry and other republic organizations, and thus reach a wide audience (including 2,100 republic libraries) are printed in small editions rarely exceeding 10,000.

As a result of the unavailability of the high quality cultural publications of the Kazakh arts press, Kazakh youth is now left prey to capitalist "mass culture," "rock and roll," and television. If this is to change, Orazov writes, the press, cultural authorities, trade outlets and others will have to cooperate more effectively in the future. He does acknowledge some problems with "Oner" press books which have made them unpopular with some in the past. He suggests that more could be done to overcome such problems.

Specific Rules To Implement Kazakh Bilingualism Policy Lacking

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 15 January 1988 carries on pages 12-13 a 2200-word article by Qwanbek Boqayev, member of the USSR Journalists Union, published under the rubric "Thoughts To Share," entitled "For the Joy of Two Languages." The article castigates republic party and other authorities for a failure to draw up rules for the implementation of the republic's now-official bilingualism policy.

Specifically, Boqayev complains of a lack of bilingual workers in the state railways, at the Alma-Ata airport and elsewhere at facilities used by many other republic nationalities besides Slavs. Moreover, he makes clear that without any official pressure from above, station and airport managers are likely to continue to do nothing.

It is a disgrace, Boqayev suggests, that Kazakhs cannot obtain help in their own language, not in some rural outlying region, but in major facilities in the Kazakh capital. Moreover, in spite of the claims of some managers that qualified persons are hard to find, they are in fact easy to find and are actually increasing in numbers.

Boqayev calls for a new, effective emphasis on bilingualism in fact as well as in theory. He suggests that if such an emphasis is not forthcoming, bilingualism will remain on paper only, as it has in the past. He notes an early 1930 decree, which was also ignored.

KaSSR: Commentator Calls For Honesty, Openness In Problem Solving

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 1 January 1988 carries on pages 3 and 7 a 4,300 word article by Zhuban Moldaghaliyev, published

under the rubric "Seasonal Forum," entitled "Let Us Consider Certain Questions Openly." The article, based upon an earlier (October 1987) radio talk by Moldaghaliyev, is an open plea for an honest and reasoned discussion of public issues, and for attempts to solve problems based in concrete possibility rather than in vituperation.

Among areas discussed by Moldaghaliyev are the problem of honest appraisal of past political errors and deviations from Leninist dictums, nationalism, Kazakh linguistic chauvinism and conservatism, the problem of a continued insistence on nationalistic distinctions between ethnic groups ("Russian" or "Kazakh"), the value of internationalism and of being part of an indivisible Soviet family of nationalities, the problem of isolation of nationalities within the Soviet Union as a whole, the present expectations of real change and improvements in living standards, the need for an energetic response by writers to perestroika, environmental issues, educational and social problems, and the lack of real conflict between nationality and Soviet internationalist values.

Although strongly supportive of Soviet values and of the Soviet system, Moldaghaliyev places emphasis upon the political errors of the past and calls for an end to local isolation of ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. Moreover, in this connection he calls for improved intra-republic exchanges of groups of students and others, and for creation of a USSR university for nationality languages and history in Moscow. Moldaghaliyev stresses the importance of the recent decrees in Kazakhstan promoting bilingualism.

An editorial end note mentions the great interest in Moldaghaliyev's original development of his ideas on national Soviet radio. His talk, the editorial note records, generated letters for all corners of the Soviet Union, not just from Kazakhstan.

**Stepanakert Strikes Blamed on Group Pressure,
Past Attitudes**
*18300193 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
26 Mar 88 p 3*

[Article by special correspondent L. Polonskiy: "Concerning Events In Nagorno-Karabakh and Its Environ—Were They Spontaneous or Organized?"]

[Text] Ten days were needed for the Stepanakert Electrical Engineering Plant to make up for time lost by mass meetings and the strike. It was decided that the people would work in three shifts, redeem their obligations, and resume production deliveries, which were being awaited at different ends of the country. The electrical engineers of Stepanakert chose of their own volition to convert to the three-shift system.

"There was a firm agreement about this made with the labor collective council," plant director B. Arshunyan told me. "And our industrial workers know how to operate intensively as well as intelligently."

But a covert signal was given, and the workers, as if they had forgotten their promises, left the workshops to meet once again in the central city square. Only the director and two or three shop supervisors remained in the empty plant, waiting for the union minister to arrive.

I saw hundreds of people pour into the square and fill up the streets leading into it. At first they were silent or conversed quietly among themselves. Later, they resorted to shouting and chanting their demands in unison.

The enterprises and virtually all institutions were out of operation. And whereas earlier, at the end of February, the people had conducted themselves in a more or less restrained manner, by now, in the middle of March, the heat of passions had sharply increased.

The new round of speech-making, like the one that had preceded it, in no way bore the stamp of spontaneity. As I stood in the square at the scene of the mass gathering, I could be sure of this. Bearing traces of carefully calculated organization, the scenario of this "expression of popular will" had been thought out and planned in advance. With the speed of lightning notices and declarations had been made public, and signatures had been gathered for petitions and appeals. One could not fail to note that a small crowd of activists would form in an instant at regular intervals on the very same patch of ground, where they would receive instructions. Then the agitators would dive into the crowd, shouting slogans of one kind or another and guiding the people's behavior. The demonstrators were provided with food to eat. Earlier, on cold and rainy days, split wood for making fires had been brought to the square in advance.

All these gatherings on the square and work stoppages at the enterprises and institutions had as their aim the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (AO) to Armenia.

The organizers and instigators of these events chose what they considered to be the opportune moment to carry them out. They attempted to exploit the policy of glasnost and the revolutionary reforms that are now taking place in the country to serve their own selfish ends. Consciously or unconsciously, these people by their actions struck a blow at restructuring and disrupted the process of democratizing society.

An informal association had been created in Nagorno-Karabakh with the romantic name of "Krunk" (the flying crane). This society had its own charter, which, behind a veil of democracy and innocently stated intentions, harbored unmistakably nationalistic objectives. Specifically, for the express purpose of "politically activating the workers and intelligentsia," this is what Krunk's charter proclaimed:

"The objectives of the Society are to analyze the ecological, demographic, and economic problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and to broadly disseminate its findings in order to prevent the further migration of the oblast's Armenian population; to promote the restoration and flourishing of the countryside, which is being abandoned and left desolate; to preserve the language, traditions, and customs; and to establish and strengthen close ties with the institutions and social organizations of the Armenian SSR involving matters pertaining to the language, culture, ecology, economy, and written history of the Armenian people."

At the same time, let us bear in mind, those of the other nationality in the oblast ignored their history, tradition, and culture. To carry out its program, Krunk set its sights on collecting money and opening a bank account. The charter served only as a screen to obscure their main objective, which is to bring about a change in the status of the oblast with respect to the nation and the state.

At the head of Krunk was a "Committee of 55" with its own chairman and deputy chairman. By the systematic use of pressure, they tried to mold public opinion in the oblast. By no means everyone in Stepanakert, in the rayon centers or in the villages of Nagorno-Karabakh, however, shared the precepts of Krunk. In conversations with a great variety of people I heard such comments as: "It's peace we want"—"We're tired! How many nights I have lain awake!"—"I wouldn't go to the square, I wouldn't quit work, but I'm scared...."

In dealing with some intransigents, the leaders of Krunk resorted to unequivocal threats and accusations of betraying the common interests of nationality. The

director of the 22d CPSU Congress Sovkhoz of Mardakertskiy Rayon, S. Marmunets, who dared to disagree with the views of Krunk and openly rejected them, was so beset by obstructionism that he ended up in a hospital bed.

Any opposition to what Krunk stood for was met by malicious indignation. An article in the 15 March issue of SOVETSKIY KARABAKH by G. Ayvazyan represents a distillation of the violent accusations that were directed against both the republic and union press, and the propaganda of national isolationism.

The instigators and active participants in the events taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh tend to become indignant and to express objections when called nationalists or extremists. "We are patriots, we are championing the interests of our people, and we take pride in our nation," they say for public consumption. But their ideology and conduct have nothing in common with our soviet patriotism and democracy. They are pursuing narrowly egotistical objectives, injurious to the interests of other nationalities, and opposed to the entire community of Soviet peoples. And in the final account they are going against the vital interests of the Armenian people.

Why is it, the question arises, that even children should stand in the rain on the square, listening to their elders in a frenzy chant slogans? What will these children take with them of this experience as they enter into life? What scars will remain in their hearts?

I managed to speak with certain representatives of Krunk. Such a person as G. Grigoryan, a candidate of pedagogical science, for example, without elaborating on anything in particular, managed to dissociate himself from the abusive remarks directed at the press, naturally, and did not share Krunk's extremely radical views, which are in conflict with Lenin's nationality policy. Others like B. Vanyan, director of the oblast museum of history and local lore, conversed calmly, and except for the hard line regarding the oblast's proposed defection from Azerbaijan, cited arguments that merit attention. I will return to this issue.

The CPSU Central Committee has noted that the situation as it developed in Nagorno-Karabakh AO arose from a passive, wait-and-see attitude towards unfolding events and the expanding mood.

Let us try to analyze what led to this situation. First, however, let us recall some pages from the history of the region.

The inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh—both Armenians and Azerbaijanis—have put up 10 war memorials in honor of those who fought in the 11th Red Army. This long-suffering area endured a number of bitter experiences before the arrival of Soviet rule. The class struggle was exacerbated by nationalist dissension, sparked and ignited by the enemies of the Armenian and Azerbaijani

peoples—the Dashnaks and the Musavatists. Dreadful deeds were committed by both Nuri Pasha and his cohorts and by Tevyan Stepanyan and his Mauser riflemen. The friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples was subjected to difficult trials.

In 1923 Nagorno-Karabakh AO was formed on the basis of Leninist principles as an integral part of the AzSSR. Over the past decades the oblast has progressed far along the path of communist construction, and it would be absurd to demean its achievements. There is the Stepanakert Electrical Engineering Plant, the Karshelko Combine, a major footwear factory, the Sarsangskiy Hydroelectric Power Plant, and a high-capacity agricultural machinery plant now under construction....The list speaks for itself. This oblast with a population of under 200,000 has at its disposal a vuz, a number of mid-level schools for specialized education, and its own theater.

At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that quite a number of difficulties and problems have accumulated in Nagorno-Karabakh. Not all matters pertaining to the economic and social life of the oblast have been resolved as quickly as might be desired. The April winds of change have scarcely touched Nagorno-Karabakh, local initiative has been fettered, and many social problems have been consigned to oblivion. The cultural needs of the people have been frustrated. And if deficiencies of this kind have encountered a lack of enthusiasm in other areas of the republic, here the reaction to them has been pathological.

The party obkom, together with a number of republic organizations and departments, is to be blamed for much that gave rise to dissatisfaction. As I was told by the party obkom, there were snags in the development of stock farming and in the supply of meat and other products to the population. For a period of many years the Karshelko Combine, the oldest enterprise in the oblast, has been unsuccessful in its efforts to achieve a complete industrial cycle. It is beyond comprehension why the AzSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources persistently adhered to a policy of having the Sarsangskiy Hydroelectric Power Plant, which is located on the territory of the AO, serviced not by oblast workers but by a collective from Mir-Bashirskiy Rayon. And the Ministry of Education placed artificial restrictions on the study of the native language in the oblast and the history of Armenia.

The director of the oblast museum of history and folklore, B. Banyan, and the chairman of the War Veterans Council, M. Khachaturov, cited this fact. The Ministry of Culture has not found it possible to provide a modest staff for the Museum of Military Glory, which was opened in Stepanakert at the initiative of the workers, and which is excellently equipped with a large number of impressive exhibits.

Each of these facts, taken by itself, does not loom large, but assembled together—and this is what the zealots of Krunk were trying to do—they succeeded in stirring up nationalist sentiments. Yet these issues can readily be resolved. What is needed is to react sensitively and promptly to the needs of people, bearing in mind their psychology and disposition. In sum, a genuine party approach is required—a clear and uncompromising stand. However, a number of the republic departments and the Nagorno-Karabakh obkom, in particular, have not risen to the occasion. The long-standing tenure of B. Kevorkov in the post of party obkom first secretary, his tendentious conduct in cadre politics, and pernicious style of operating aggravated the situation. B. Kevorkov insulated himself from people; he did not care to ascertain their needs; he conducted himself in an aloof, proprietary manner, and he was high-handed and rude to people. His own career, his personal well-being, and prestige projects concerned him above everything else. In the obkom, the ispolkom, and other organizations there was a proliferation of paper, hiding the truth while describing his reported activities in glowing terms. Yet by the time the crisis occurred, the authority of the first secretary—and the entire bureau—added up to zero.

The events that began in Nagorno-Karabakh soon elicited a response in Yerevan. They aroused unrest in Agdam. And they led to the excesses that occurred in Sumgait. They force us to give thought to the state of relations that exists between the nationalities. Having at one time proclaimed them to be the ideal solution, which had been decided once and for all, and without a shadow of doubt, we gave in to a bland complacency, as things turned out. At times we deliberately closed our eyes to the difficulties and complexities. Formalism predominated in propaganda about the friendship of peoples, and a preference for noisy projects for show with all sorts of ceremonial weeks, months, and decades to observe, and sit-down dinners with speakers vying with one another in making toasts to fraternity, community, and unity. Forgotten was the fact that education in relations between nationalities, their cultures, and genuine internationalism is a sensitive subject, requiring a comprehensive and understanding approach that is scrupulous, sustained, and persistent in its efforts. We can now recognize both omissions and errors made in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Sumgait. A superficial, show-off style with a desire to hog the limelight characterized the work of D. Muslim-zade, first secretary of the party gorkom in Sumgait, who was relieved of his duties following the events that occurred and excluded from the party, as was B. Kevorkov. At the critical moment these qualities, which are intolerable on the part of any party leader, indicated political shortsightedness and arrogance. An unequivocal answer cannot be given to explain the events in Sumgait. The gorispolkom and the city's law enforcement organs turned out to be ineffectual. An explanation is yet to be found for the fact that so many young men were to be found in Sumgait—a city of youth

and worthy traditions until recently—who were willing to follow the instigators and provocateurs in committing excesses and malicious criminal acts.

One ponders events in Nagorno-Karabakh, seeking to fathom their underlying meaning. Many grievances were coming to the surface. The situation as a whole was being exploited by the leaders of Krunk. It was for this reason that it did not suit the purposes of the Krunk activists, and those whom they mesmerized into following them, to undertake measures on a republic or inter-republic scale for resolving the social, economic, and domestic problems in Nagorno-Karabakh. It may be seen on examination that they were even opposed to studying the problems that had accumulated, and the proposals being made and weighed on all sides, and were seeking accordingly a solution at the state level.

In view of the fact that Krunk was taking upon itself extraneous functions, and that its activities have been in conflict with the building of communism and the principles of socialist internationalism by inciting the population to mass unrest, the AzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that the Krunk Society and its executive organs, the committee and council, be dissolved, and that unlawful activity on the part of any unauthorized organizations is not to be tolerated.

The organs of the public prosecutor are charged with carrying out this decision immediately. The leaders of Krunk must answer for what has occurred. However, there is another matter that is essential to bear in mind.

Many of those who were attracted by such declared aims of Krunk as protection of the environment, the recovery and protection of antiquities, and their restoration, as well as the history and cultural contacts in the region, did not associate these aims in any way with altering the status of the oblast. These people could not discern—behind these openly proclaimed and, it would seem, inoffensive and liberal aspirations—the artfully disguised provincialism, which, among other things, led to throwing down a challenge to socialist internationalism. Among Krunk members one also encounters those who joined simply "for the company," not wanting to be isolated from others and in order to avoid the disapproval of the zealots. Time is needed for them to recognize the error of their ways and to rid themselves of their credulity and myopia. Meanwhile, it is important for us to treat such people understandingly.

The events taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh and its environs are of intense concern not only to the workers of the Transcaucasus. People in every republic, kray, and oblast in the country are expressing their concern and profound dissatisfaction with what has happened. They believe that these occurrences are damaging the fraternal alliance of peoples as well as the work of restructuring, making the economic and political situation more difficult to resolve at the state level. An appeal by the General

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M. S. Gorbachev, calls for a keen sense of responsibility, good sense, and support, so that emotions and passions may not be allowed to get out of hand, and so that the time-tested friendship between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples may be further strengthened.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree, in response to appeals by the union republics, regarding the occurrences in Nagorno-Karabakh, in the Azerbaijani SSR, and the Armenian SSR. The decree recognizes that the attempt to resolve complex issues of territory and nationality by exerting pressure upon organs of state power under improper circumstances, by creating unauthorized organizations, which transgress the current restructuring of state and republic administrative boundaries protected under the USSR Constitution, is not to be condoned. There must be guaranteed protection of the lawful interests of citizens of all nationalities, involving strict accountability by all those whose actions have a destabilizing effect upon existing conditions and trespass upon the friendship and cooperation of the fraternal Soviet peoples.

Calmness, wisdom, strict observance of order, a businesslike atmosphere, and the cementing of friendship. This is the only way that will let us overcome the difficulties that have arisen—the only path that leads to the restoration of mutual trust.

12889

Official on Problems of Azerbaijani Schools in Armenia

18300/183 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 10 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by I. Mamedov, deputy education minister of the Armenian SSR: "An Opening Word"]

[Text] As early as February, at the CPSU Party Committee plenum, after discussing "Progress in the Restructuring of Middle and Higher Schools and Party Tasks for its Realization," it was recognized that dissemination of complacent notions about an alleged absence of problems between nationalities was not to be tolerated in the future. Unfortunately, not everything is that simple, as vividly demonstrated by recent events. Nationality schools face a number of vital problems requiring resolution as soon as possible.

Our peoples—the Armenians and Azerbaijanis—have always been good neighbors. Thus it has come about that many Armenians are now living in Azerbaijani territory, while quite a few Azerbaijanis live in Armenia. This is as it should be, and it constitutes the principal achievement of socialism, prized always by the Soviet patriot—the friendship of peoples. Our youth grow up in a multi-national society, closely bound together by common human interests.

A good deal of attention has been given to nationality schools in Armenia. By way of illustration let me cite the following figures. The republic has 148 schools in operation with Azerbaijani as the language of instruction, in which 34,735 Azerbaijani children are enrolled. Moreover, the number is steadily growing. The plan is to build during the 12th Five-Year Plan period 33 school buildings with accommodations for 12,512; of these, 7 schools have already been placed in operation.

There are, of course, a number of difficulties in the material and technical support provided for Azerbaijani schools. School libraries are short of books, and appropriate art literature and teaching materials are scarce. These are problems, however, shared by all schools of the middle education system, and initial efforts to restructure the school system, together with the entire logic of public educational system development, inspire confidence that these deficiencies will be eliminated in a very short time.

Meanwhile, the system for training teaching personnel to supplement the staffs of Azerbaijani schools is provoking considerable criticism. Although the number of certified specialists has risen (whereas 68.3 percent of those teaching had higher educations in academic year 1975-1976, 84.3 percent had higher educations in 1986), there has been until now a perceptible shortage of teachers for the Azerbaijani schools, especially in rural areas of the republic. The greatest problem of all is the shortage of Russian language teachers. This year we have worked out a long-term program for improving Russian language instruction in the Azerbaijani schools, but we need the teaching cadres to carry it out.

Generally, the individual nature of the teacher accounts, if not for everything, for a considerable amount—such as the interest of children in the subject and the atmosphere in class. Authentic and innovative teachers exist even in the Azerbaijani schools. They include A. Aleskerov of Shaumyanov Settlement, Gugarkskiy Rayon; R. Abbasova of Shirazlu Village, Araretskiy Rayon; T. Bagirova of Zod Village, Vardenetskiy Rayon; and T. Pashayeva at School No. 3 in the city of Kadzharan, Kafanskiy Rayon. Such people are enthusiastic and creative in the highest sense of the word, and they are as vital to their schools as a breath of fresh air. Their experience has already been drawn upon as it has become customary to have exchange visits by teachers from Azerbaijan to Armenia and vice versa.

All of this lies in the general area of tasks encountered by Soviet general education schools. But Azerbaijani schools situated in the territory of Armenia have specific problems of their own as well. Somehow it has become the custom for these schools not to teach the Armenian language or the history and geography of Armenia, and even the appropriate reading material has not been available. Of course, when it comes to the matter of language, any sort of privilege or restriction, especially

any kind of coercion, is intolerable. Limiting the voluntary nature of selection by parents of the language of instruction for their children would violate democratic principles regarding the nationality issue. Nevertheless, I think it is essential for representatives of other nationalities who reside in one territory or another to be encouraged in every way possible to study the local language. Guided by these principles, and in an effort to comply with the manifold desires of parents, we are preparing textbooks in the Armenian language in grades 5 through 10 in the Azerbaijani schools, and I am hopeful that, starting on 1 September of the next academic year, Armenian language study will be incorporated into the school curriculum along with Azerbaijani language study.

Finally, I want to say that all the schools on Armenian territory with Azerbaijani as the language of instruction are operating normally under peaceful circumstances. There were instances, of course, in Kafanskiy, Gugarkiyy, and Azizbekovskiy rayons as well as in Dzhermuk in which the parents of our students, yielding to panic and absurd rumors, abandoned their homesites. But the situation has become normal once again, and a majority of those Azerbaijanis who left their homes have returned to their former patterns of life and work. Their children are back in their classes. This is the most sensible solution.

There is a well-known saying that the soul of each child is like a clean sheet of paper. It is my desire that the first word to be inscribed on this sheet should be "friendship."

12889

Central Asian Water Resource Management Measures Summarized
18300189 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
3 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by P. Khabibullayev, president of Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and V. Dukhovnyy, general director of the Scientific Production Association of the Central Asian Scientific Research Institute of Irrigation: "The Fate of the Aral Weighed by Economics"; text corrections indicated in subsequent issue, 4 Mar 88 p 3, incorporated into this article]

[Text] Along with implementing the tasks of intensive socioeconomic development, ecology and environmental protection are key areas of party and state policy. They are closely linked with the knotty problems of the Aral Sea and its adjacent region.

For a long time the social progress of Central Asia has been based on growth in irrigated agriculture and water management. This has been the foundation for both industry and construction, and industry and construction together have created more than 50 percent of the

region's national product. The development of irrigated agriculture and water management has made it possible since 1960 to increase production of agricultural output in Central Asia by 8.6 billion rubles a year in comparable 1973 prices, which means it has more than doubled. Taking into account the mutually interrelated sectors of the economy, the gross national product rose by 21.5 billion rubles, which provided employment for more than 3 million people.

Of course, doubling the irrigated area here involved additional withdrawal of water from the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya rivers. In conditions of such a closed basin as the Aral Sea watershed, that could not fail to affect the inflow of water to it and its level fell correspondingly.

However, it was as if we had two sides to the scales here—the priority of developing irrigated agriculture along the rivers resulted in reduced economic potential in their deltas.

There were not enough capital investments or material resources or equipment for conservation measures, including for the problem of the Aral Region. Lack of attention to questions of conserving water resources locally also played a large role here. Calculations show that if all the systems being built were to reach the efficiency level of the Golodnaya Steppe ("em (0.78), the Aral would retain 20 percent more water than it has now.

All these questions have been a focus of attention for science and the community and were twice discussed at traveling meetings of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences in Nukus. In accordance with the findings of the most recent of them, held in December 1986, the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers requested that the CPSU Central Committee specially examine the ecological situation in the Aral Region. The governmental commission that was formed, which included executives from the USSR ministries and departments involved and the councils of ministers of the Uzbek, Kazakh, and Turkmen SSR's, made a detailed examination of the situation which has taken shape. All available proposals and planning and scientific projects were also examined. On their basis the commission prepared a report to the government which was discussed at a joint meeting of the Uzbek, Kazakh, and Turkmen SSR academies of sciences with USSR Academy of Sciences representatives participating. A representative scientific quorum gave full approval to the main line—to stop the desertification and negative phenomena in the environment and to restore a favorable situation in the Aral Region.

The main idea of the commission's report was to create systems of potable water supply and increase the level of public health. In addition to the measures envisioned by the earlier government decree on the socioeconomic development of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, 4,000 kilometers of main water lines are to be built on the territory of

the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Tashauz Oblast in Turkmenia, and Kyzyl-Orda Oblast in Kazakhstan. In addition, by 1995 12,000 kilometers of internal community water line systems are to be laid and sewage and water supply systems are to be set up in city and rayon centers; hospitals with 2,000 beds and polyclinics for 2,000 patients are to be put into operation as well.

In order to stop the human-caused desertification and flooding of the Aral Region, right-bank and left-bank collectors along the Amu Darya River are to be used to collect 8.7 cubic kilometers of collector-drainage water, including the present run-off of the entire middle and lower courses of the river, as well as a large part of the water which now enters the Sarykamysh. In addition, 5.1 cubic meters of fresh water will be supplied to the rivers' delta through strict observance of sanitary discharges. Taking into account unregulated excess run-off (in 1987 it amounted to almost 10 cubic kilometers) this water will make it possible to restore the delta with its estuary watering, range livestock breeding, and commercial lake fishing. At the same time the NPO SANIIRI has proposed, and the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources has included in conservation measures in the zone of the reclaimed coast of the sea, a dike 190 kilometers long under whose protection water areas in the form of a polder system with an area of 200,000 hectares will be created.

This "antedelta" will make it possible to restore the fauna and flora here, raise the level of subterranean water, and develop fishing. But its main task is to prevent salt and dust transfer from the bottom of the sea. Observations made in the region of Sudochye Lake show that a water surface 10 kilometers long lowers the intensity of these phenomena by a factor of 150. Finally, modern methods of plant amelioration have been included in the program in order to strengthen the bottom which is being drained; these methods have already been tested on a 10-hectare area by the Institute of Forest Management.

At the same time the discharge of mineralized drainage water and drainage water polluted with pesticides into the Amu Darya must be stopped by completing construction of intercepting collectors.

Conferences held in February of this year emphasized that it is entirely possible for the republic, using its own efforts and the capacities of the hydroeconomic construction organizations, to fulfill the conservation program proposed if the appropriate capital investments are allocated for these purposes.

On the whole the measures prepared to improve the ecological and health situation in the region of the Aral Sea and the lower courses of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers have also been approved.

However, it should be clearly understood that depletion of the water resources in the region, population growth, and the necessity of satisfying the population's need for foodstuffs and employment make it impossible to restore the level of the Aral Sea using its own water. The expanded program of water supply and efficient use of water and land resources now being implemented, including the introduction of new irrigation equipment, drainage, comprehensive reconstruction of systems, increased productivity and intensification of farming on irrigated land, and regulated run-off, all will make it possible to free about 10 cubic kilometers of water by the year 2000. But the deficit in the water balance of the Aral alone averaged 16.2 cubic kilometers a year in 1980-1987! On the other hand, while in 1965 we had 0.25 hectares of irrigated land per capita and in 1985 the figure was 0.21, without an increase in new lands this indicator will decline to 0.13 hectares by the year 2000.

Thus, the region's ecological and socioeconomic problems cannot be solved without territorial redistribution of river run-off from rivers in those regions of the country that have a dependable water supply—without transferring part of the run-off of Siberian rivers to Central Asia. We are certain that the very development of the economy, like the interests of the country as a whole, will ultimately lead to a mandatory solution of this question, since that will make it possible at the same time to utilize the enormous natural and demographic potential of Central Asia.

12424

Rumor of Malfunction at Lithuania's Ignalina Nuclear Plant Squelched
18000293P Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 5 Apr 88 p 3

[Article by G. Afanasyeva: "Aloud About Rumors"]

[Excerpts]

—Have you heard that at the Ignalina Nuclear Power Plant they are unable to shut down the reactor? The Japanese have been there for an entire month already, but they can't do a thing.

—What are we going to do?

—A friend of an acquaintance of mine lives in Sniechkus. Well, they're already packing their belongings...

(From the conversation of two women on the trolley-bus).

This rumor has been circulating around the republic for several weeks already, growing like fermenting yeast, bubbling, drawing more and more victims into the panic psychosis until emotions are no longer subject to reason. Calls to the editorial office on this topic have also become more frequent. That is why we now hasten to calm all those who are in a panic: "Dear comrades! We

declare with total authority: the apocalypse has been called off!" But, so as to further substantiate this, we call on the authoritative information of the republic's chief inspector for environmental protection, P. Luzhina:

—The reactor was shut down for turbine maintenance, where minor malfunctions had been detected. No increase in atmospheric discharge was registered. The radioactivity level corresponds to that normal in our republic. Incidentally, in the southern regions of the country it is significantly higher.

From our correspondent in Snejchus we found out that life in the city is proceeding at its normal, accustomed pace.

In general, it must be said, that this spring has set the absolute record for the number of rumors of all kinds of cataclysms threatening Lithuania. Recently, the newspaper VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI reported in minute detail a rumor that according to the calculations of the Japanese an asteroid was about to reduce the entire republic to dust and ashes. It would seem that a thorough and quick reply from the newspaper would be sufficient to put an end to such fears. But no! Just as before, readers keep calling the editorial offices, among them SOVETSKAYA LITVA's, all with the same sacramental question: "Can it be true? Why aren't you warning the people?"

Now let's ponder the nature and origins of these apocalyptic rumors. In my opinion, it is a vestige from the time when the mass media reported sparingly about catastrophes and natural disasters so as not to upset the people. These days much is written, but distrust of publications on this account has remained. Many still read between the lines in newspaper articles or apply this old norm: "Read what is written, and then multiply it by three." And rumors have already started to the effect that this is where glasnost is leading us. The less people knew, the more quietly they lived. It seems to me, that glasnost is the only effective weapon capable of killing rumors, even those which at first originate from a certain excess of objective, albeit disquieting information. And this information should not only be timely and scrupulously truthful, but it should speak of life itself, and openly acknowledge what is bad, and what is good. Unfortunately, at present, this is not possible for everyone, not even us journalists.

For the sake of fairness, it should be noted, that at times rumors do expose one problem or another, and that they fill the void, which the mass information media has not managed to fill. But, as the remarkable Soviet journalist and writer Anatoliy Agranovskiy said: "There are no rumors beneficial to us. Rumors are only harmful." So, perhaps instead of preparing ourselves for a cosmic catastrophe, we should instead busy ourselves calmly with the restructuring of that which is bad, and having exposed shortcomings, let's not cry "I give up!", but undertake to eliminate them by action.

Ukrainian Ecological Movement Sparks Growing Concerns

UkSSR Academicians Views Policies

18110051 Kiev RODYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
22 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by K. Sytnyk, vice-president of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, "Our Ecological Culture" under the rubric "Thoughts of Competent People"]

[Text] For the first time in years, I have an optimistic attitude regarding the efforts toward environmental protection, and not just because the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the resolution "Toward A Radical Restructuring of Conservation Practices for the Entire Soviet Union." Recently, there have been significant changes in the mental attitudes of a large number of party, soviet, and agricultural personnel in top management positions. This is crucial in that the ecological culture of the administrative apparatus depends first and foremost on the progress which is being made in this extremely vital area.

We have always had the means by which to improve our agricultural-ecological practices; for instance, we have had both scientific and economic principles at our disposal, which has made it possible to more intelligently economize the use of our natural resources.

But there has been a lack of culture. The slogan "The Plan—Above Everything Else!" is frequently employed in an all-out effort toward achieving ecological control. And really, whenever we had a case where an irresponsible supervisor or director achieved the necessary production by allowing rivers to be polluted with waste and permitting surrounding forests and meadows to be degraded with contaminants, no one bothered to put him in his place; no one issued a reprimand.

Or let us take soil, for example. At present, nearly 40 percent is eroded. For a moment, let us just consider this: about half of the golden reserve of land resources is on the verge of being ruined. And all this is taking place in the midst of current advanced technological and scientific procedures, as well as in the presence of unlimited human potential. How did we get ourselves into this predicament? It happened primarily because of the barbaric attitudes of certain field agronomists, brigade-leaders, and collective farm directors toward soil conservation. To be more precise, it is the result of their lack of ecological culture.

Where does ecological culture awareness begin? I'm convinced it begins in the schools. But, unfortunately, the subject of ecology is only discussed for the most part in biology class. Chemists and physicists, as a rule, do not believe it is their responsibility to see that students receive the proper ecological training. Even teachers of technical VUZ's [institutions of higher learning] neglect

to teach students the importance of cooperating with the natural world. So where does one go to find those engineers for whom nature would mean no less than their plans?

Today's standard of civilization and ecological culture compels us, in the way of building new industrial complexes, to first consider the negative influence these businesses might have on the environment and the possible consequences. Plans already include ways in which to prevent this negative influence. In connection with this, the generating capacities of these industrial establishments must be determined not by the total demands of production, but on the basis of the availability of natural resources. In short, these corporations should not have to waste either one meter of fertile soil or one liter of water. After all, we must remember that our children and our children's children have to live on this earth, too....

Today's resolution, adopted by the USSR State Committee for Natural Resources [Derzhkompryrod] and implemented throughout all republics in the Soviet Union, depends on strict control from environmental protection agencies of all national-economic levels. As long as we are not totally dependent on ministries and departments, we can achieve positive results. But there is one condition: the workers of the Committee must take an uncompromising stand and not turn away even for a second from current demands toward preserving our natural resources in all their beauty and uniqueness for future generations.

Public, Governmental Responsibilities Noted
18110051 Kiev RODYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
22 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Kraslyansky: "A Publicist's Memorandum"]

[Text] Last summer, an unfortunate thing happened in the Kherson region. Not far from the Beryslav regional center, more than 10 beekeepers dispersed, as is frequently done, colonies of bees among the flowering buckwheat.

However, the local state farm neglected to be up front with people. When aviators dusted the crops with pesticides, agronomist S. Voloshyn and director S. Yakushenko failed to inform pilots and beekeepers of the potential hazards. The bees died. When apiarists called in requesting information on what had happened, the editorial staff appealed to local party and agricultural organs with this shocking bit of news but elicited very little help from these contacts. The people there paid little attention, showed little concern in terms of investigating charges of wrongdoing; instead, they passed the whole thing off as insignificant.

In light of this event, how can we even begin to speak of ecological culture when there is a lack of natural human culture?

Because of the kind of attitude shown toward ecology this last time, we no longer hear the voices of the lark or the quail in the fields; and we no longer encounter wild animals as frequently.

People must find it very disturbing to live near rivers where fish have become extinct or to live next to industrial complexes which continually pollute and contaminate the air.

The editorial staff receives hundreds of letters from people voicing complaints against these insensitive perpetrators of the natural world, demanding that they be held accountable for their deeds. It is unfortunate that these letters come from such a wide range of geographical areas. In light of this, one fact really stands out: although industrial cities like Kryvyy Rog, Komunarsk, Dniprodzerzhinsk, and others (where industry has been pretty heavy for the past 10 years) today are making serious efforts to rejuvenate the surrounding environment, directors of business enterprises in newly developed industrial cities, such as Kalush in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, Bila Tserkva in Kiev Oblast, and a number of others, expect nature just to heal itself. But as a result, people are choking on chemical vapors....

Some of the major concerns at the present time include environmental protection, conservation of natural resources, and efforts to improve ecological control in various industrial centers. These same issues are highlighted in a resolution recently adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. It is important that everyone be committed to this matter at one and the same time. The natural organism is but a single entity, independent of oblasts and territories. If, for instance, people in the Poltava region have worked hard the past 10 years trying to rejuvenate the smaller rivers, to clean them up, and literally to give every source a new life, and the people in the Sumy region, for example, are indifferent to this, then all the effort put forth by residents of the Poltava region will have been, if not in vain, at least significantly wasted in that many of the smaller rivers in the Poltava Oblast begin their run in the Sumy Oblast.

Today domestic efforts toward the restructuring of numerous businesses have been stepped up by means of new technologies. Here is where most of the environmental protection work must take place, where the ecological culture of everyone must show itself—from the worker to the director, and up to the (cabinet) minister. But, of course, technology can only be considered effective and up-to-date if it is ecologically sound.

The main point—today this pertains not only to ecological, but to economic and industrial policies as well—is that we implement pollution prevention technologies

which help minimize the negative influence of agricultural practices on the environment. This will definitely improve our situation; however, at the present time, we still need to do much more. Current ecological conditions compel us to use these technologies everywhere, because otherwise we will continue finding our rivers polluted with waste and our air contaminated with carbon chemical compounds.

As a law for present-day living, it should be the primary responsibility of industrial managers and directors of all ranks to see that treatment facilities operate reliably and efficiently. The practice of putting new businesses into operation first and then developing a treatment system last with whatever monies are left over is not only a manifestation of poor ecological culture; it is also a crime against humanity, against future generations.

Fortunately, fewer and fewer people believe that we have an unlimited, inexhaustible supply of natural resources and that these resources will be with us for ages to come. It is just sad that common sense is frequently lacking among the interests of local department heads. For instance, let us say we are going to build a new plant and the management forgets all about the truisms of environmental protection; they will go right ahead and build on fertile land with the aim of setting up shop next to a clean water source. Based on the norm of ecological culture, today it is imperative to carry on construction work in a way that will not deprive the farmer of even one centimeter of fertile land. Above all, construction must be handled on the basis of how many natural resources a specific locality is able to provide without doing any future harm.

In particular, there are demands to be made on open-pit mining processes. The following principle should be the accepted norm: recultivate, and give back to the farmers land which was previously destroyed; then consider taking up other areas. This is what workers are doing at the Chasovyarskyy Combine for Extracting Fireclay in the Donets region, whose director is V.O. Khrystyuk.

A major, if not decisive role in the area of environmental protection, will be played by the soviets of people's deputies. As stated in a resolution, they have been directed to consolidate the coordinated efforts of all businesses and organizations under their control in the branches of environmental protection and natural resource management. They are directly responsible for ecological conditions in their sector and have been given the right to exercise their powers to the maximum.

Today, the problem of ecological management continues to be a major social concern. In looking for solutions, we can no longer tolerate political and organizational apathy; nor can we accept the lack of initiative from the organs of state administrations, enterprises, and organizations. It is the duty of every citizen to commit himself to this all-important task.

13006/08309

NKAO Raykom First Secretary Replaced
*18300216 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian !
Apr 88 p 2*

[Azerinform report: "Party Raykom Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Gadrutskiy Raykom was held, at which an organizational matter was examined. The plenum released V.A. Zakiyan from his duties as raykom first secretary in connection with his transfer to other work.

G.L. Bagiyan, former Gadrutskiy RAPO chairman, was elected first secretary of the Gadrutskiy Raykom,

G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom, took part in the plenum activities.

Khachaturov Links Nagorno-Karabakh Issue With Arms Control Progress

18300226 [Editorial Report] In a 1400-word article entitled "And So Let Reason Prevail," appearing in Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 March 1988 on page 2, Doctor of Historical Sciences and APN Deputy Chairman Karen Khachaturov follows up his earlier MOSCOW NEWS article [See the DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-88-056, dated 23 March 1988, pages 63-65.] on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

After relating experiences and impressions gathered during his trip to Nagorno-Karabakh, Khachaturov makes the following conclusion: "Let common sense and conscience prevail over the passions inflamed by the enemies of the Armenian people and foreign radio voices. Let us not be naive simpletons: the rights of the Armenian people are no dearer to imperialism than are, let us say, the rights of the people of Nicaragua. It is better to reflect on consequences which may have an effect not only beyond the Caucasus, but even beyond the borders of the USSR and beyond our hemisphere. Today there is no task more important to the human race than the ratification of the treaty on the liquidation of two classes of nuclear weapons, which was signed only after such immense efforts. The enemies of detente and a nuclear-free world will seize upon any opportunity, no matter how ephemeral, to undermine the signed treaty. In these circumstances it would be a serious political error, which would be exploited by our enemies, to give the world's most aggressive forces even the slightest opportunity for anti-Soviet demagoguery.... The sooner that the republic's regular routine and full-blooded rhythm of work return to normal, the better it will be, both for Armenia, and for Nagorno-Karabakh, and for all our multinational Soviet family."

NIKAO Separatist Movement Denounced; Western Media Blamed

18310427a [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 6 March 1988 carries on page 4 a 1000-word article by Shahmar Abbaszade headlined "We Are Neighbors of Fate..." dealing with the approach taken by the Western media to events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. "Those trying to separate Nagorno-Karabakh, which is an immortal monument of our history, from Azerbaijan, and those wishing to sow dissent between two peoples have planted no seeds on our common native land." He adds that "our ideological enemies from the WASHINGTON POST, the BBC, Radio Liberty, and VOA are pouring slander on our fraternal union. We believe that those spreading panic will receive appropriate punishment."

VOA, Radio Liberty Broadcasts on NKAO Criticized

18310427b [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 8 March 1988 carries on pages 3, 4 a 2900-word article by A. Zargarov, director of the Scientific Information Center for the Social Sciences of the AzSSR Academy of Sciences, headlined "Who Is Inflaming the Agony?" dealing with the reaction of foreign radio, primarily VOA and Radio Liberty, to events in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Yerevan. He points out that "one must conduct a constant struggle against certain individuals who wish to inflame antiquated feelings of nationalism; one must also absolutely not permit any violations of Leninist nationality policy, educate the population in a feeling of great patriotism, honor and worth, and expose bourgeois falsifications on the basis of proof."

Bourgeois Propagandists Blamed for NKAO Affair

18310427c [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 12 March 1988 carries on page 2 a 700-word article by Professor Seyfaddin Gandilov headlined "With Lenin's Wisdom" in which he asserts that "after a very short time the entire Azeri people thought that the Nagorno-Karabakh events were a long thought-out plan originated by imperialist reactionary circles and bourgeois propaganda." He stresses the importance of strengthening friendship between the peoples of the Caucasus.

Common Bonds Between Azeris, Armenians Stressed

18310427d [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 13 March 1988 carries on page 2 an 1100-word article by Huseyn Arif headlined "Unshakeable Friendship" in which he emphasizes the common bonds between Azeris and Armenians. He claims that "the hearts and souls of the Azeri and Armenian people are very close, and the common bonds between Armenian and Azeri folk music are striking." Numerous examples

from the poetry of both peoples which demonstrate strong similarities are quoted. Summarizing the conclusions reached at the CPSU Central Committee meeting which discussed the NKAO situation, the author says that "many things can be shaken, but a friendship stemming from the experience of centuries is unshakable."

Mardakert Raykom Accused of Stagnation

18310427e [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 15 March 1988 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "With a Feeling of Newness: The Party Is Perfecting Its Work Style and Methods." The editorial notes that "it is clear that it is difficult to implement such a great and honorable task as speeding up the republic's socioeconomic development through antiquated work methods. However, some rayon and city party committees and primary party organizations have been unable to free themselves from the influence of principles and methods to which they have become accustomed. There is no free exchange of ideas, different points of view are not being taken into consideration, and criticism and self-criticism as well as complaints are not being expressed to leading workers." Among the rayons cited for "eliminating stagnation too slowly" is Mardakert, which is located in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Tajik Landslide Warning; Geologist Says Reservoir Plans Unsafe

18300220a [Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 10 April 1988 carries on page 2 a 1700-word article by Kh. Mirzobayev, candidate of geomineralogical sciences and member of the International Association of Engineering Geology, entitled "Landslide—A Real Danger" in which the author warns of landslide danger to Dushanbe and Gissar Valley residents if plans to create the Ziddinskoye Reservoir go ahead. While it is possible to predict landslides with the proper research, he says not enough studies have been done at this proposed lake site, which is in an unstable seismic area with high cliffs and sheer drops. The combination of irregular topography and seismic instability could cause a mudslide or landslide and, if the dam broke, most of the valley would be drowned out, endangering hundreds of thousands of people.

Problems of Bilingualism in Moldavia Addressed

18000298 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 15 March 1988 carries on page 3 a 2000-word article by E. Kondratov, datelined Kishinev, and entitled: "The Thread That Links Our Hearts: Polemical Notes on the Languages of the Peoples of the USSR." The article addresses problems associated with the relative knowledge and use of the Russian and Moldavian languages in the republic of Moldavia. The author notes that almost two-thirds of the members of the Moldavian

Supreme Soviet are deputies of the indigenous nationality. But at sessions of the Soviet, the farmers, workers and brigade leaders prefer to use Moldavian, while the leadership from the ministries and departments of the republic prefers to use Russian. The author suggests that a translation could be made available. He admits, however, that this is not a simple problem; one must approach it carefully, and there is much to discuss concerning it. Russian-speaking guests in the republic have complained about the "emphatic lack of consideration" shown them by local sales and service people, while the other extreme also exists, e.g. a tour guide is "put in his place" when he tries to describe something in Moldavian to farmers who had come to visit the museum. Such situations are usually commented on with the explanation that Russian is preferred because almost everyone knows it, while only 10-12 percent of the non-indigenous population knows Moldavian, and there are many such people in the republic. They say this is both a necessity and a sign of respect on the part of the Moldavians towards people who speak other languages in the republic. The author is disturbed, however, by the fact that only every tenth resident of the non-indigenous nationalities knows the language of the republic in which he lives, and feels a reciprocal respect should be shown by these nationalities by learning the language of the indigenous population.

In a recent interview, Moldavian CC Buro member G. Yeremey offered the explanation that the present problems with the study of Moldavian in schools is the result of "pedagogical irresponsibility." The author believes this is not an adequate explanation, that one must also mention that "over the course of many years, a careless attitude towards the native language was, for the recent leadership of the republic, a means to express 'true internationalism'" and that they used to "frighten people with the bogeyman of nationalism" if they dared to express concern about the Moldavian language.

The author realizes you cannot command people to learn the language of the indigenous population, but suggests trying to inspire and convince people to do so willingly. He then proceeds to describe his positive experiences in

republics where he had bothered to learn at least some of the language of the indigenous population. He also describes in some detail the problem with the availability of appropriate and interesting textbooks for learning Moldavian language and culture in school, and suggests some materials which might be of use for this task (dual-language texts, a televised language class, courses in Moldavian literature and art, to be taught at least in Russian).

Latvian Readers' Suggestions on Bilingualism Sought

18000297P [Editorial Report] Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian on 17 March 1988 carries on page 3 a reprint of the 15 March 1988 IZVESTIYA article entitled "The Thread Which Links Our Hearts: Polemical Notes on the Study of the Languages of the Peoples of the USSR," followed by a 500-word editorial note which states that the tasks set by perestroika make the free development and equal utilization of their native languages by all the citizens of the USSR, the learning of Russian along with one's native language, and the learning of the native language of the republic in which one lives issues of particular urgency. It states that the attempt to achieve this as a norm of life in a national republic is most apparent in the Latvian SSR. However, there are many difficulties here, which were recently discussed at: a session of the Latvian CP Central Committee Commission on National and Inter-National Relations.

Latvian readers are called upon to express their opinions on this issue and to offer proposals for the best solution to this problem. The upcoming Latvian CP Central Committee plenum will discuss key questions of the ideology of renewal, among them inter-national relations. Readers' responses on the issue of bilingualism will be published in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA and will also be discussed in the preparations for the plenum and in practical work.

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